The Story of Pisa

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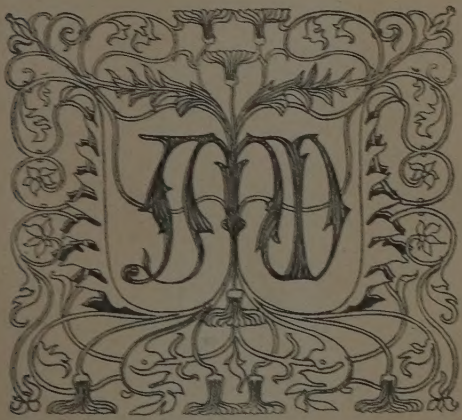
The Ivory Madonna.

Giovanni Pisano. *The Duomo, Pisa.*

The Story of Pisa

by Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen. Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen



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PREFACE

THERE is not one, but a multitude of Pisas—pre-Roman and Roman, Pisa of the Teutonic invasions and of the Duchy of Tuscany, Pisa of maritime supremacy, Pisa of the Crusades, Pisa of the guelphs and the ghibellines—no end of Pisas, down to the sleepy little town whose mild winter climate attracts invalids. None of them save the first are entirely invisible in this twentieth century. Here are fragments of baths, there are inscriptions, elsewhere buildings still standing. The town to eyes that can see is an old curiosity shop, and its description may easily turn into the catalogue of a museum of antiquities.

Writers on morals tell us that what they call sins of "omission" are no less heinous than those of "commission," but with a book on Pisa the statement is doubtful. There was so much to chronicle, and so many kind friends each with a favourite hobby, which for the moment seemed all-important, and then sank into comparative insignificance when a new one was broached, that the authors were often bewildered. They have kept the history, for which Mrs Ross is responsible, and the description of the city, which fell to the share of Miss Erichsen, who has also done the drawings, apart.

They must express their thanks for the kindness shown them by Professor Clemente Lupi, Keeper of the State archives at Pisa; Cavaliere Marini, Librarian

of the University there; the Cardinal Archbishop of Pisa, who allowed them to see the archiepiscopal archives; the Canons and Chaplains of the cathedral; and the Priors of S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno and of S. Michele degli Scalzi. Their best gratitude is also due to Cavaliere Angelo Bruschi, Librarian of the Marucelliana Library at Florence; to Dr E. Perceval Wright, of Trinity College, Dublin; to the Rev. Principal Lindsay, of Glasgow; and to the President of the Istituto Storico Italiano for permission to reproduce two drawings from the Chronicle of Giovanni Sercambi.

JANET ROSS.
NELLY ERICHSEN.

BETWEEN WALLS AND MOUNTAINS

Story of Pisa

CHAPTER I

From Legend to History

. . . "già del Tosco mare
Donna e Regina, chi sarà che tenti
Scriver l'istoria tua formata e vera?"
—*Delle Istorie Pisane*, Raffaello Roncioni,
Archivio Storico Italiano, vi.

HOW many of the travellers who visit Pisa now remember that she is one of the most ancient cities of Italy, and was famous when Rome was but a hamlet? They can see the ancient walls, but can they conceive that in the long history of the community settled between the rivers Arno and Serchio the grey lines of buildings are but of yesterday? They may perhaps remember that a palace of Hadrian, one of the greatest of Roman Emperors, stood where the cathedral now stands; that temples to Apollo and to Mars covered the sites of the churches of S. Pierino

and S. Michele in Borgo; that at the foot of the Via S. Maria grave priestesses of Ceres sang hymns in honour of their goddess, who ripened the golden corn which covered the plains from the Monte Pisano to the coast; and that in a temple which stood in the Piazza S. Andrea love-sick young men and maidens presented their offerings at the shrine of Venus, and made their vows to the goddess they evoked. But can they realize that in those far-off days, before our Christian era began, Pisa was a city so old that its beginnings were even then half-concealed, half-disclosed, in legends of her origin? If her antiquity be almost beyond conception, it is harder still for our imagination to realize the volcanic spiritual force which was pent within the small town whose whole extent, from north to south and east to west, can be traversed within the hour. Who can conceive as he saunters along the quiet Lung' Arno, or paces the almost silent streets, that he is inside the walls of a Republic which treated, almost on terms of equality, with Christian Emperors in Germany and in Constantinople, and with Moslem Soldans in Bagdad and in Alexandria? What evidence remains of a merchant state whose influence, if not dominion, made itself felt from Spain to Babylon and from Aix-la-Chapelle to Carthage; which had colonies and exchanges in the valley of the Nile and on the banks of the Orontes, in Cyprus and in Sicily, on both coasts of the Adriatic, in North Africa and in Spain, whose fleets swept every part of the Mediterranean and had reduced to subjection Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands? Where can one see traces of a judicature whose Consuls, Elders, or Senators heard the last appeals in suits which had begun in Pisan law courts in Acre, Joppa, and Jerusalem, in Antioch and Laodicea, in Damietta and Tunis?

The greatness of Pisa began to decline in the thirteenth century. Since then she has lived on her memories: her motto might be *fuimus*. Her decay shows how powerless are the greatest material resources and the most strenuous mental energies against slow-growing, half-formed ideas, pregnant with the promise and potency of a new future. Pisa was ghibelline, and her rivals were guelphs. Whatever contemporary aspirations, associations, and prejudices gathered round these words, their root ideas instinctively represented the past and the future. The ghibelline clung to the imperialism of old Rome: his thought of a world-wide polity was a great cosmopolitan state like the Roman. The guelphic idea contained, hidden as yet but living in the germ, the modern conception of a brotherhood of independent nations. Pisa was ghibelline, and she fell.

It is scarcely correct to speak of the history of Pisa. She had a succession of histories—Pre-Roman and Roman, Lombard and Mediæval, Florentine and Italian. All have left their traces on the city.

Dionysius mentions her as one of the primitive Italian towns, either taken from the Siculi, or built by the Pelasgi and the aborigines. Another tradition is that the Etruscans conquered the Greek city of Alphea and changed the name to Pisa. This is followed by Virgil:—

> "Hos parere jubent Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ,
> Urbs Etrusca solo. . . ."[1]

In his commentary on the Æneid, Servius gives the seven legendary origins of the town which were current in his day, and says: "Alpheus is a river between Pisa and Elis, cities of Arcadia where the temple to Jupiter Olympus stands. From this region came the founders of Pisa in Italy, to which they gave the

[1] *Æneid*, lib. x. 179.

name of the former city, and so Virgil has added 'on Etruscan soil,' having said that its descent was from Pisa on the Alpheus. Pisa was in fact founded in olden days by settlers from the Peloponnese, that is, by those who followed Pelops into Elis. Some say that Pisus was a king of the Celts and a son of Apollo Hyperboreus, that he waged war with the Samnites and was received by their Queen when after the death of her husband she came to the throne, and that he founded a town in Etruria and gave it his own name. Others say that a youth of divine origin and of great power founded Pisa. Cato, in the *Origines*, says he does not know who were in possession of Pisa before the coming of the Etruscans; but that it is ascertained that Tarchon, an Etruscan by birth, founded Pisa and adopted the language of the district; for a people called Teutanes who lived there before spoke Greek. Others, again, say that a Phocian city used to stand where Pisa now is, and this is a proof that the town derives its origin from the Peloponnese. Others assert that the inhabitants of the town were Teutæ and that the town itself was called Teuta; and afterwards, because in their Lydian language Pisæ meant matchless harbour, the city was thus named from the crescent of the moon. Another tradition is that the city was founded by Epeus, the builder of the Trojan horse, who was cast ashore at that spot with other Greeks; and when the Trojan women, from fear of the mistresses to whom they were being taken, burnt the ships, he gave up all hope of returning, and remaining there built a city which he called after Pisa in the Peloponnese."

In very early days we get a glimpse of the importance of Pisa. During the Ligurian wars several of the Roman legions were quartered there, communication being easy with the imperial city along the great Via Aurelia made by C. Aurelius Cotta in 241 B.C.

The road was continued to Vada Sabatia, the modern Vado, in 109 B.C., by Æmilius Scaurus, and called by his name. Later, under Augustus, the road was carried through Genoa into Gaul, and the whole took the name of Via Aurelia.

In 195 B.C. the Consul Valerius Flaccus marched against the Gallic Boii, and the Prætor of Etruria advanced on Pisa in order to attack the enemy on the flank and drive them back towards the hills. Two years later the city was only saved by the arrival of the Consul Q. Minucius from Arezzo, and in 180 B.C. she was made a Roman colony. She then elected her own magistrates, and the competition for office was so great and the rivalry so keen, that in the year of the death of C. Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus (A.D. 4), we find that owing to serious disturbances at the elections Pisa was left for some time without magistrates.[1] From her harbour, Porto Pisano, at the mouth of the Arno, whose very site is now a matter of dispute, the Romans embarked for Gaul, Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, and the coast of Liguria. According to Targioni, Repetti, and Canon Piombanti, Porto Pisano was situated near the old fortress of Leghorn. "Many ships sailed from there," writes Prof. Vigo, "during the second Punic war for the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia. In 225 B.C. the legion of C. Attilius Regulus disembarked there to join Æmilius Papus in the Maremma, where the Gauls were defeated with great slaughter at Telamone. Two years later the Etruscan army started from Porto Pisano for Sardinia, and in 87 B.C. Marius landed there on his return from Africa."[2] Its importance as a harbour towards

[1] *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.* S. Dill, LL.D., 212.

[2] *Miscellanea Livornese.* Prof. Vigo, Anno 2, p. 53; and *Il Porto Pisano*, by the Same.

the end of imperial times can be gathered from the poets, Claudian and Rutilius Namatianus. The first, relating how Stilicho tarried in Pisa whilst preparing numerous vessels against the rebel Gildon, mentions Porto Pisano as the chief harbour of Etruria, while Rutilius calls it the famous emporium of Pisa and the source of her great riches. About 1100 the Pisans built two towers at the entrance of the harbour, and a third on the shoal of Meloria. Later they erected four other towers, of which some vestiges remain. When Pisa fell under the dominion of the Florentine Republic the fine tower, the Marzocco, was built. Gradually, however, the bay silted up, Leghorn rose in importance, and in the seventeenth century the once famous Porto Pisano was utterly abandoned.[1]

The old Pisan chronicler Marangone proves to his own satisfaction that his beloved birthplace was built 1700 B.C., and was known as Alpheus until Nero changed the name to Pisa because the tribute of the Western Empire was sent there to be weighed (from *pesare*, to weigh). He gives a minute account of a magnificent temple built in honour of Diana by the Emperor Nero, which is evidently only a reminiscence of the Golden House in Rome.

But little remains of the ancient splendour of Pisa. Broken statues, some fine sarcophagi, numerous inscriptions, two in the Campo Santo, decreeing funereal honours to Lucius and Caius, grandsons and adopted sons of Augustus, are interesting as records of the municipal history of the Roman Empire. Two marble columns with fine capitals, belonging probably to the vestibule of a temple erected under the rule of the Antonine emperors, now embedded in the wall of the Cassa di Risparmio, and a small portion of a Roman

[1] *Guida Storica ed Artistica della Città di Livorno.* Canon Piombanti.

bath, are all that can be seen above ground of Roman work. The latter shows that the land has risen at least eight feet in the last seventeen or eighteen centuries. Of the Pelasgian and Etruscan city there is no vestige. Dennis declares that most of the Etruscan urns and sarcophagi were brought from the neighbourhood of Volterra in 1808.[1]

In ancient days Pisa stood on a tongue of land formed by the confluence of the rivers Arno and Serchio (then called the Auser), and in the time of Strabo the city was only two and a half miles from the sea. Now it is about six. Colonel Mure notices the similarity in the site of Pisa of Etruria with Pisa of Greece, both standing on "a low, warm, marshy flat, interspersed with pine-forest." Dennis suggests that the analogy of site may explain the identity of name, derived by Colonel Mure from πίδος, a marsh, or from πίσσα, a pine, or fir-tree.[2] As a fact, the pine-woods near Pisa stretch for many miles along the coast, and the trees may be the descendants of those under which Rutilius, when weather-bound in 415, hunted the wild boar. It is evident from what he writes that little change had taken place in the position of Pisa since ancient times:

> "I range the old city of Alphean birth,
> Which Arno and Ausur circle with twin streams;
> The confluent rivers form a tapering cone;
> Its open front through scanty piece of ground
> Is entered, but in the united flood
> Arno retains its name, Arno alone
> Reaches the ocean."[3]

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[1] *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.* G. Dennis, ii. 81. J. M. Dent & Co., London.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 79 *n.* J. M. Dent & Co., London.

[3] *Rutilii Claudii Namatiani de Reditu suo*, Libri duo. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Charles Haines Keene,

The Roman custom of erecting statues to eminent men was followed at Pisa, for Rutilius' chief object in walking there from Triturrita was to see the statue of his father Lachanius, Prefect of Tuscany, in the forum of the former city.

What was the condition of Italy during the successive invasions of Italy by the Huns, the Herulii, and the Goths, none can say. In the eighth century Pisa was under the rule of Duke Allone of Lucca, of whose conduct Pope Adrian complained several times bitterly to Charlemagne. The favourite residence of the Marquesses of Tuscany was at Lucca, but as their rule extended down to and along the coast, they had a palace also at Pisa, and old Luitprand gives her the proud title of "Tusciæ provinciæ caput." One might be tempted to suggest that with the preference thus shown for Lucca, accentuated by her having the privilege of coining money, began the hatred and jealousy between the two cities. The first encounter between them was, according to Muratori, in 1003 at Aqualonga, during the civil wars occasioned by the rival claims of Ardoin, Marquess of Ivrea, and Henry, Duke of Bavaria, to the crown of Italy. Lucca took the side of the Italian, Pisa that of the German.

The Pisans had, however, other and worse enemies to contend with. They had established commercial houses in many of the South Italian ports; indeed, in Bari and Trani whole streets belonged to them and at Bovino, near Troja, stood a Palazzo de' Pisani, while they had large dealings with the Greeks of Calabria. When the Greeks became unable to withstand the attacks of the Saracens, who ravaged the towns along the coast and bore away the inhabitants to slavery, the

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M.A., translated by George F. Savage-Armstrong, M.A., D.Litt. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1907.

Pisans sent a fleet to their aid. Whereupon, according to the legend, the Saracen Emir Moëzz-Ibn-Badis, called Musa or Mugettus by the Italian chroniclers, left Sardinia, which he had conquered, and sailed up the Arno by night to attack Pisa in 1005. The houses on the left bank of the river were in flames and the inhabitants in full flight, when a woman of the Sismondi family named Chinzica rushed across the bridge to the palace of the Consuls and gave the alarm. A statue was erected to her when the burnt portion of the town was rebuilt and called after her.[1]

After they returned from Calabria the Pisans determined to punish Moëzz, but a war with Lucca retarded the expedition. Benedict VIII. sent a Legate to Pisa, and it was probably owing to his mediation and diplomacy that Genoa joined with Pisa in an attack on the infidel in Sardinia in 1017. The allied fleets were victorious, and the Emir fled. The Genoese, not anticipating so complete a victory, had stipulated that the spoil of war should be theirs, while the Pisans were to take any territory that might be conquered. Dissensions broke out between the allies, and to secure possession of the island Pisa had to turn her arms against Genoa. Moëzz made desperate efforts to regain Sardinia. Every spring an infidel fleet attacked

[1] Muratori throws doubt on the story. He says that Chinzica is an Arab word. Sismondi derives it from Kennzeichen, German for birthmark Repetti treats the tale with contempt, and says the only authority for it are the words *fuit capta Pisa a Saracenis* in a fragment of an old chronicle. Grassi tells us that in the tenth century the name of the southern portion of the city was changed from Gussalongo, or Spazzavento, to Kinsic, which means exchange or mart in Arabic, on account of the Oriental merchants who dwelt there. Prof. C. Lupi, Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Pisa, confirms the Arab definition on the authority of Prof. Michele Amari.

one or more of the ports, until the Pisans followed him to Africa, menaced Carthage, and took Bona, bringing back the Emir's crown as a present to the Emperor Henry II. Towards the end of his life Moëzz, with the help of the Spanish Moors, again landed in Sardinia, and, with the exception of the town of Cagliari, made himself master of the island in 1050. We learn from the old chroniclers that Leo IX. sent a Legate to entreat the Pisans not to leave Sardinia in the hands of the infidels, promising that if they wrested it from Moëzz he would give them the island in perpetuity, on condition that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy See by paying an annual tribute. In despite of the people, who were weary of incessant strife, the Pisan nobles then equipped another fleet. Genoa, the Marquess Malespina, and Count Gentilio of Mutica in Spain, joined them, and the allies disembarked near Cagliari. Although Moëzz, in spite of his eighty years, fought with desperate valour, the Saracens were routed. Sardinia then fell under the dominion of the Republic of Pisa, and was divided into four Giudicati, or Judgeships—Cagliari, Torres, Gallura, and Arborea (now called Oristano). The judges afterwards assumed the title of kings and attempted to rule independently.

The power of Pisa at sea was so great that the Counts Robert and Roger of Normandy, who were fighting against the Saracens in Sicily, applied to her for aid, and she sent a strong fleet to Palermo. Marangone entirely ignores the Normans and writes: "In 1062 the Pisans were seized with a desire to sail to Sicily, which was full of infidels. Having armed galleys, ships, and brigantines, in such numbers that not even a boat was left in Pisa, they started. A good wind took them quickly to Sicily, where they besieged Palermo, a large and fair city. At length

Palermo was taken, and the spoil and the treasure that was therein cannot be described; and the Pisans, leaving a garrison to keep order, sailed back to Pisa. News of the victory had already been received, and the citizens were perpetually watching for the arrival of the fleet. When it approached all the people went out to meet it, not having patience to wait until it arrived at the city. And then was such joy, such embracing and such kissing that it seemed as though a thousand years had passed since they had met. Having brought so much treasure the Pisans determined to distribute it for the love of Christ and for His honour and glory, for which alone they had fought. S. Reparata, the ancient cathedral of Pisa, was not a fine building, so with the said treasure it was determined to erect a stately church to be called S. Maria Maggiore. It is to be remembered that this cathedral was begun in 1063 and finished in 1100. It was therefore built in thirty-seven years, whereby may be gauged the greatness of Pisa in those days, not only for the number of her inhabitants, but for her riches. He who has not seen the Duomo of Pisa has not seen one of the finest things in the world."

During the last expedition to Sardinia the Pisans had also conquered Corsica, and, continues Marangone, "they lived in peace and tranquillity until the Genoese, who conceived themselves to be on an equality with the Pisans if not superior to them, could no longer endure to see such prosperity. Under the pretext of carrying merchandise to the East they armed twelve galleys, and entering the mouth of the Arno they landed and robbed the people. The Pisans called out their men and sailed forth with twelve galleys to attack those of Genoa. They took seven laden with spoil, the others fled, and the Pisans returned with great honour." Smarting under the defeat, the Genoese

armed a number of swift galleys and invested the castle of Vada in 1075. The Pisans retaliated by taking and burning Rapallo, and harrying the country round, which caused the Genoese to return home.

In the same year Gregory VII. gave his approval to a code of laws drawn up by the Pisans, called *Consuetudine di Mare* (Usages or Customs of the Sea), for regulating maritime disputes. These were ratified six years later by the Emperor Henry IV., when he signed a treaty between the empire and Pisa. This treaty shows that the Pisans had already recognised laws or customs to ensure justice in questions concerning intricate matters relating to navigation. Hemmed in by Florence on the one side and by Lucca on the other, she of necessity became a maritime power. Gradually the whole sea-coast from Lerici to Piombino had acknowledged her supremacy, and the towns stood in much the same relation to her as the Latin cities once did to Rome.[1] The treaty also shows that Pisa had become an important factor in the Empire, as the Emperor promises not to nominate any Marquess of Tuscany without the consent of the twelve Consuls elected by the city of Pisa.

Although good children of the Church, the Pisans had friendly relations with the infidels, which aroused the ire of the Countess Matilda's rhyming chronicler Donizone. He was most indignant that her mother, the Countess Beatrice, who died in Pisa in 1076, should be buried in a city contaminated by the presence of so many pagans instead of in her own castle of Canossa.

> "Qui pergit Pisas videt illic monstra marina,
> Hæc urbs Paganis, Turchis, Libycis, quoque Parthis
> Sordida, Chaldæi sua lustrant littora tetri,"

he writes in his debased Latin.

[1] *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes.* Sismondi, i. 361.

The small wars constantly recurring between Pisa and Genoa were put an end to for the time by Victor III., who succeeded in reconciling the two Republics and persuading them to attack the infidels in Tunis. The allied fleet took the city and destroyed Elmadia in 1070, a year after the Pope's death. On their return they determined to build a church in honour of S. Sisto, patron saint of the city, whose name day, August 6, had always been a fortunate one for them. Great were the rejoicings at Pisa when Urban II. made their Bishop Daimbert Primate of Corsica in 1091, and raised the See of Pisa to an Archbishopric. Three years later the Pope visited the Countess Matilda at Pisa, and no doubt inspired Daimbert with his enthusiasm for the crusade, as the Archbishop incited his flock to join with such fiery eloquence that they acclaimed him Commander-in-chief. Marangone declares: "If they had not feared to leave their city empty and go so far away, every Pisan would have enlisted, so great was the desire awakened in their hearts to join the crusade. Sailing over our seas they soon reached Constantinople, where was a Greek emperor named Alexis, who gave infinite trouble and annoyance to the Christians. Our people were assailed by Suliman, with Turks and Saracens in countless numbers. Had they not been succoured by Godfrey they would have been in great peril. The fight was strenuous and long, so that when night approached none knew who was the victor. But next morning we killed about 40,000 Turks, Medians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Saracens and Arabs, and Suliman fled, spreading abroad the report that he had been victorious."

In glowing words Pisan chroniclers describe how, during the siege of Jerusalem, "Cucco Ricucchi, a most valiant soldier, bearing the banner of Pisa sur-

mounted by a crucifix, being intent on the battle, inadvertently turned the crucifix towards those who were behind him, and shouted with a loud voice, 'Advance, O Christians, for you have conquered,' which was true. Ever after the Pisans bore the crucifix with the face towards those who came behind; and tradition says that to commemorate this, Pope Paschal ordered the crucifix to be borne thus before him. It is written in all histories that Duke Godfrey and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace, were the first to scale the walls of Jerusalem. But in the annals of Pisa this honour is assigned to the aforesaid Cucco and to Coscetto of Colle di Pisa. Of the latter we have the record carved in stone in Leghorn under the archway of the fortress, where are the following words: 'I, Coscetto of Colle Pisano, was the first to scale the walls of Jerusalam.'[1] To content both parties, let us say that the Pisans on one side were the first and Duke Godfrey was the first on the other." None of the old Pisan chroniclers, however, mention that a fierce quarrel broke out between the Venetians and the Pisans, and that the fleet of the latter was defeated off Rhodes.

From William of Tyre we learn that Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, "a well-educated, pious, and prudent man, a friend to honesty," arrived at Laodicea (Latakia) in December 1099 with about 25,000 Italian pilgrims, men and women, horse and foot. At Laodicea he joined the Counts Baldwin and Bohemund, and following the coast line they marched on Jerusalem. The towns were nearly all in the possession of the enemy, their panniers (cistercias) were empty, and no food could be bought, as the country people refused to deal with them. Beasts of burden failed, so their march was toilsome and slow, and the

[1] The inscription no longer exists.

weather being cold and wet, many died. But by the mercy of God at last they reached Jerusalem.[1] After much deliberation, the chief crusaders resolved in 1100 that the "venerabilis vir dominus Daimbert" should be made Patriarch of Jerusalem in the place of Arnulf of Normandy. This was done, says William of Tyre, to the great envy of Arnulf, which led to many evil consequences. Daimbert was invested with all the possessions privileges and rights, owned by the patriarchs in olden time and under the Greek rule. Then Godfrey and Bohemund, kneeling before him, asked to be invested, the one with the kingdom of Jerusalem, the other with the principality of Antioch, which was done. When Godfrey died (1100) he left the tower of David and the city of Jerusalem by will to the Patriarch. This excited the anger of the leading crusaders, and Count Garnier of Gres, Godfrey's cousin, seized the tower and fortified it. Whereupon Daimbert wrote to Bohemund and complained of Baldwin, claiming, partly by right as Patriarch, partly by the will of Godfrey, one-fourth of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the tower of David, and the city of Jerusalem. This gave Arnulf the opportunity to intrigue against him.[2] When Daimbert heard that Baldwin was coming to Jerusalem, knowing that Arnulf had accused him of ambitious designs, he took refuge in the church of Mount Sion.[3] The quarrel between Baldwin and himself was, however, made up, and he crowned Baldwin King of Jerusalem in the church at Bethlehem, in the presence of the clergy and the people, the bishops and the chiefs.[4]

[1] William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, i. 386.
[2] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, i. 387.
[3] *Recueil, op. cit.*, i. 410-11.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 413.

After Baldwin had been crowned he marched with his whole force to Joppa (Jaffa), and summoned the captains of the Pisan and the Genoese fleets to meet him. A bargain was made that the third part of all booty taken in any town or on any battlefield with their assistance should be theirs. At the siege of Cæsarea, where the fleet bore their part, each private soldier received about £7 in money and 2 lbs. weight of peppercorns, Cæsarea being the chief market for spices. In 1104, when King Baldwin summoned the fleets to help him to invest S. Jean d'Acre, the Pisans landed their crews to manage the escalading machines, at which they were very expert, and, relying on Baldwin's promise that the inhabitants would be spared, Acre surrendered. But the Pisans and the Genoese, heedless of the king's word, seeing the citizens depart with much baggage, rushed through the streets slaying the people and seized all they could. The Franks, who had besieged the town by land, then also fell on the citizens, killed four thousand, and took possession of treasure and cattle. Baldwin was very wroth, but Daimbert entreated him on behalf of his townsmen, and peace was made between the Pisans and the king.[1] Arnulf, however, again sowed discord between the Patriarch and Baldwin, and a great quarrel arose. Mistrusted by the clergy and the people, Daimbert left Jerusalem for Antioch. There he was hospitably received by Bohemund, with whom he went to Italy to complain to Paschal II. that Baldwin and Arnulf had humiliated the Church in his person. The papers of accusation were sent to the Pope, who waited a long time to see if the accused made any defence. None being made, the Patriarch

[1] Bishop Albert's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. *Recueil*, iv. 606-7.

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS, A PANEL FROM THE PULPIT OF GIOVANNI PISANO, MUSEO CIVICO

was called to Rome, but he died at Messina whilst waiting for a transport in 1107.[1]

Besides the profit accruing from so many naval armaments which they supplied, the continual passage of private adventurers on their vessels, and the establishment of new marts for their commerce, the Pisans reaped very material advantages from their expeditions to Syria and Palestine. From Laodicea in the north to Acre in the south, they obtained grants of land in most of the coast towns in the possession of the crusaders. Thus Tancred, in recognition of the aid they had given in conquering the Greeks of Laodicea, made a bargain with them in 1108 to be his allies, promising that if he took the town he would give them the arches of the colonnade (*voltus prodomi*) from end to end, *i.e.* from the upper end as far as the church of S. Nicholas, inclusive of the church, down to the lower end on the seashore, whilst in Antioch he gave them the church of S. Salvator.[2] They generally contrived to secure sites near the harbours for the erection of their warehouses, convenient for unloading and loading their ships, and built houses, baths, bakehouses and mills, and sank wells. Everywhere they tried to obtain the right of having their own law courts, presided over by judges of their own nationality, who dispensed justice according to the ancient laws of their city. Sometimes they paid for

[1] William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*. *Recueil*, i. 404-6, 410-11, 456.

[2] *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*. Edited by Reinhold Röhricht, Innsbruck, 1893, and Appendix, 1894, 11. *Voltas prodomi* means "arches of the colonnade." These colonnades, common to many Eastern towns, were an especial feature in Antioch. See Ritter, *Abhandlung d. Königl. Acad. d. Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1854, 345 *et seq.*, where he describes many of the towns as having colonnades leading to a church or other sacred spot. Also *Adonis Attis Osiris*. J. G. Frazer, 84, 94 (*n*).

these privileges in money, but more often in warlike or transport service, procuring also the right of trading exempt from custom dues, and of acting as bankers. In one or two instances they actually acquired possession of strongly fortified towers, to the envy and anger of their rivals, the Genoese. They bargained indiscriminately for these privileges with Christians or with Moslems, obtaining from the Moslem ruler of Egypt a free market in Alexandria, and the right of building warehouses and a court of law in Cairo. They also secured the site for a *fondacco*, or exchange, a free market, and their own court of justice as far east and inland as the city of Babylon.

When the Pisans returned from Jerusalem they brought home great riches and much treasure. "Among other things," writes Marangone, "were the three most holy bodies of Nicodemus, Abiba, and Gamaliel, disciples of Our Lord. As usual, much of the spoil was devoted to churches and to public works. A gate was built, called Porta Legatia or Porta a Mare. Some have wondered that the city of Pisa in those days had neither walls nor gates, to which I reply that till then union had been so complete in the city that her citizens were her walls and her gates. Also, that artillery being then unknown, walls were unnecessary, and that Pisa had fifteen thousand towers. Every house was a tower, as can still be seen. Every battlemented tower armed a galley, and there was but one garden, where is now S. Pavolo all' Orto. Pisa was therefore strong without walls."

During the absence of the Pisans in the Holy Land the Lucchesi had seized Ripafratta, so, after sending several ineffectual embassies to Lucca to remonstrate, war was declared. The Emperor Henry II. came to Pisa and took the side of his faithful ghibelline city. He ordered the Lucchesi to give up town and castle

to the rightful owners, and to sign a peace which lasted until 1114.

On Easter Sunday in 1113 the Archbishop Piero of Pisa, holding a Cross on high, appealed to his people to succour their Christian brethren who were languishing in chains in the Island of Majorca. Nazaredech, as the Italian chroniclers call Nasr-ed-Daulat, Emir of the Balearic Islands, had for some time been the scourge of the French and Italian coasts. The grey-beards who had taken part in the expedition against Sardinia were the first to acclaim the Archbishop, and exhorted the young men to join in the holy war. Their enthusiasm was contagious. Twelve of the principal citizens were chosen as leaders, and the spring passed in preparing the fleet. The Pope sent a Nuncio to bless the crusaders, and on August 6 the fleet started for Sardinia to embark recruits among the Pisan nobles who held fiefs in the island. But contrary winds kept them fast in the mouth of the Arno, where messengers overtook them with the news that the Lucchesi were in full march on their defenceless city. Landing, they hastened back and beat off the invaders, and then, afraid to leave their wives and children exposed to another attack, they begged the Florentines to guard Pisa during their absence. Florence despatched two thousand men, who encamped two miles outside the city, and as none were left save old men, women, and children, the captain forbade any of his men to enter the gates under pain of death. One man disobeyed and was hanged.

Navigation was not easy in those days. When the Pisans first sighted land they thought it was Majorca and went on shore to destroy all they could. An old poet relates that on discovering that they were devastating the coast of Catalonia and killing Christians, they threw down their arms and gave way to despair, thinking

they were doomed never to find the Balearic Islands.[1] Delayed by bad weather they preached the crusade against the infidel to the Spanish nobles, and in April 1114 the fleet reached Iviça. After a sharp struggle the island capitulated, and the Pisans sailed to Majorca. For a year the city held out, but was at last captured, and with a vast amount of treasure the Pisans returned home, bringing with them the wife and the little son of the Emir. Both were converted, and the boy so won the hearts of the Pisans that eventually they begged Pope Benedict to make him King of Majorca. His mother died in Pisa, and an epitaph on the front of the cathedral tells her story. In memory of the service rendered, the Pisans offered to the Florentines the choice between two doors of chased metal and two porphyry columns from Marjorca. The captain chose the latter, and enveloped in scarlet cloth they were sent to Florence, where they still stand outside the door of S. Giovanni.

In 1116 the Emperor Henry V. passed through Pisa on his way to Rome, and bestowed many privileges on the Archbishop, whereby he gained great popularity. But it soon waned when Pope Gelasius II., who was a Gaetani of Pisa, was driven from Rome by his persecutions and took refuge in his native city. The Pisans received him with all honour, and having just finished their cathedral begged him to consecrate it. The jealousy of the Genoese was aroused by the Pope placing the bishops of Corsica under the control of the Metropolitan church of Pisa, so they set sail with eighty galleys, containing, according to the Genoese chronicler Caffaro, twenty-two thousand men. The war lasted fourteen years. Ships were destroyed, villages and castles on the coast pillaged and burnt, but neither side

[1] *Rerum Pisanis in Marjorica gestai.* Poema. Laurentii Vernensis, t iv., Rer. Ital. Scrip.

gained a decisive victory. At length Innocent II., who, like his predecessor, had been driven to take refuge at Pisa, interposed. To pacify the Genoese he named their bishop an archbishop, and instituted two new bishoprics on the Riviera which he placed under him; Corsica was divided between the archbishops of Pisa and Genoa, while Sardinia remained as before under the Pisan See. In 1134 the Pope held a General Council at Pisa, at which S. Bernard of Clairvaux assisted, when the Anti-pope and all his followers were excommunicated.

After peace had been signed between Genoa and Pisa, Prince Robert of Naples came to beg the Pisans to give aid to Naples and to himself. He had been forced to do homage to King Roger of Sicily, but refused to fight against Innocent II. in favour of the Anti-pope Anacletus II. Pisa, devoted to Innocent, consented to send 8000 men, but demanded 3000 lbs. of silver for the expenses of her fleet, and the Neapolitans in order to pay melted down their church plate. All communication by land with Naples had been cut off by burning the suburbs, placing a line of outposts in the Campania, and erecting fortifications at Aversa. Amalfi, which Roger had conquered, had been denuded of soldiers, and her galleys had been ordered to Sicily. She was therefore defenceless, and fell an easy prey to the Pisans in 1135. They pillaged the town, and it is said that among the spoils were the celebrated Pandects of Justinian, which were sent to Pisa.[1] Their

[1] An opinion was long current that the Roman Law had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten in Italy and elsewhere in Western Europe. It was supposed that no copy of the Pandects existed save one which lay hidden in Amalfi, and was discovered when the city was captured in 1135 by the Pisans, acting in conjunction with the Emperor Lothar II.; that the Emperor had presented it to the city of Pisa and that at the same time he had issued an edict that the Roman

victory was, however, short-lived. King Roger marched across the mountains from Aversa, surprised the Pisans whilst they were besieging the castle of Fratta, and took 1500 prisoners.

A few months later Prince Robert again appealed for help, but the Pisans refused to enter into a new war without allies, so the Prince went to Germany, and S. Bernard, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux, wrote to the Emperor strongly urging him to punish Roger of Sicily, the only king who recognised Anacletus the anti-Pope. Ere the snows melted Lothar was on his way to Italy, and Pisa lent the Prince five ships which eluded the fleet of King Roger and entered the harbour of Naples with food for the starving people and news of speedy succour. By the Emperor's aid Innocent II. was reinstated in Rome and Prince Robert in Capua, while the Pisan fleet swept the seas of King Roger's ships and entered the bay of Naples in triumph.

Law should be substituted for the German Law throughout the Empire, and had established schools for teaching it. But as a matter of fact the Roman Law had never fallen entirely into disuse. There is ample evidence that in the towns of Northern Italy learned men at any rate were acquainted with the Pandects, and probably also with the Code and the Institutes, while there is no reliable evidence that any copy of the Pandects was brought from Amalfi to Pisa, or that any such edict as alleged was issued by Lothar in regard to the Roman Law. It is, however, true that in the twelfth century there was a marked revival in the study of the Roman Law at Bologna and in other cities, both in Italy and elsewhere. The more probable history of the famous Pisan MS. which was taken to Florence after the sack of Pisa in 1406 and is now in the Laurentian library, is that given by Odofredus, a Bolognese jurist of the thirteenth century, who states that it was brought to Pisa from Constantinople in the time of Justinian. It is the only complete copy of the Pandects and dates from the sixth or seventh century.

Dissension soon arose between Innocent and the Emperor, and the latter left for Germany full of resentment against the Pisans who were devoted to the Pope. S. Bernard defended them in an eloquent letter in which he spoke out clearly to Lothar: "It surprises me how you can have formed a bad opinion of men who are worthy to be doubly honoured. I say this of the Pisans. They were the first, and till now the only ones, to uphold the flag of the Empire against her enemies. I say as was said of holy King David; where amongst all the cities is to be found one like Pisa? Obedient in taking up arms, obedient in laying them down, ever a supporter of the Empire. Who but the Pisans put to flight that powerful enemy the Sicilian tyrant and liberated Naples? Who but the Pisans, with their impetuous courage, took Amalfi, Ravello, La Scala and La Fratta, opulent and well-found cities hitherto deemed impregnable? How much better it would have been to quit the faithful city of Pisa without anger; for on the one hand she received the Pope with love and gave him hospitality, on the other hand she rendered great services to the Empire. I see, however, that the contrary has happened. Those who offended you have been rewarded, those who served you have been contemptuously flouted. Perchance you have not been well-informed as to these matters. Now that you know, change your mind and your speech. Let men who are worthy to be highly honoured by royal favours receive what they merit. The Pisans deserve much and may deserve more. To a man of your judgment I have writ enough on this subject." The Emperor died ere the letter reached him, or the words of S. Bernard might have softened his heart towards the Pisans.

In 1141 fierce war again broke out between Pisa and Lucca. The castle of Aghinolfo, now called

Montignoso, always a bone of contention, was taken by the Lucchesi. "Then," writes Marangone, "they collected a large force in 1145 to attack Pisa. Approaching the castle of Morrona they began the attack. But the Pisans had been warned and marched against the army of Lucca, which did not hesitate to show its face to the enemy. When the struggle began such was the ardour and the valour of the Pisans that in a short time the Lucchesi were routed. Few were killed but many were made prisoners, and the Pisans returned home in triumph. This generally happened when we fought with the soldiers of Lucca." The old chronicler adds that prisoners were exchanged but fails to explain how the Lucchesi, who were always beaten, had any prisoners. Indeed it is difficult to reconcile the accounts of hostilities between the two cities given by their respective chroniclers. The Pisan writers recount a series of brilliant victories, whilst the Lucchesi declare that the Pisans were invariably beaten with great slaughter. At length the bewildered reader wonders how anyone was left alive to note down the incessant fighting.

CHAPTER II

Barbarossa and the Pisans

WHEN, in obedience to the fiery eloquence of S. Bernard, Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France started on the disastrous second crusade, the Emperor ordered that Genoa and Pisa should make peace, as he needed their fleets. The document shows how extensive must have been the trade of the two Republics. After mutually promising not to injure each others subjects, either in person or in goods, it continues, "If a Pisan injures a Genoese or a Genoese a Pisan, the malefactor is to be sought for from Capo d'Anzio to Capo delle Saline near Reggio, through Sicily, from thence to Venice, from Venice to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Syria, all through Egypt and Barbary, all over Spain, and from Spain to the Porto di Monaco, and in all the marine stations."

The ignominious failure of the Christian arms in the East does not seem to have much affected the Pisans. They determined to still more beautify their city, and great were the rejoicings when the first stone of the Baptistery was laid on September 23, 1153. Columns were brought from Elba and from Sardinia to adorn it, and as the building proved to be more costly than had been anticipated a tax of one florin was laid on every family in Pisa, the number of which Tronci gives as 34,000. Soon afterwards Ripafratta, the

strong fortress, was erected as a bulwark against the Lucchesi under the Consulship of Cocco Griffi, whom Marangone describes as "a man of great ability, a lover of his country, and very wealthy. He also proposed to the people to build walls around the city. They were begun from the Porta Legatia to the Porta al Leone, which gate was made to give pleasure to the Florentines, and was called al Leone because all those who came from Lyons in France entered by it, and passing down the Via S. Maria and over the Ponte Nuovo, they went the Porta S. Antonio and so on to Rome.[1] In the same year the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa came to Pisa, but only tarried a few days as he was intent on going to Rome for the crown. The Pisans sent ambassadors to the Emperor at Rome, who received them with more pleasure and with greater honour than other envoys." It is true they had aided him in his struggle with the league of the Lombard cities, but he was probably also struck by the determination they had shown in obtaining commercial and trading privileges from both Saracens and crusaders all over the East. Thus Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, with the consent and by the advice of his mother Milisend, made a bargain with the Pisans. They were to end all their disputes and quarrels, save those their honour required them to wage against the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the clergy of Cæsarea, the abbot and monks of S. Maria de Latina; the King to do likewise. The Pisans were to be loyal to the King and to serve him by sea and by land, while he promised to protect all Pisans, save those who carried iron, wood, fish, or arms to Egypt. Further, the King bestowed on them the Viscontado,

[1] Another and more probable account is that the gate was so-called because of a marble lion which stood on a bracket on one side.

or Vice-Countship of Tyre,[1] which gave them a law-court of their own. Near Tyre he gave them five *carrucata*, or plots of land which could be ploughed by a yoke of oxen, and confirmed the privileges given by Baldwin II, to the Pisans of Tyre. He also engaged that his brother Almeric, Count of Ascalon, should make peace with the Pisans. Accordingly the Count made over to Villano, the Archbishop, and to the Consuls of Pisa, one half of his rights in the city of Joppa, and land for building ware-houses, houses, and a church, subject to the consent of the Patriarch, besides half the dues payable on all goods imported or exported by sea or land. When Almeric succeeded his brother as King of Jerusalem in 1141 he gave the Pisans a tract of land between the city and the port of S. Jean d'Acre in return for their help during the siege of Alexandria. To this he added the right of free trade in Egypt, permission to have a tribunal in Cairo of their own and to build ware-houses and a mill. The privileges in S. Jean d'Acre had been confirmed by successive kings of Jerusalem, and it is note-worthy that they all treated with the Commune of Pisa as with an independent power, without reference to the Marquesses of Tuscany. The archbishops of Pisa often acted as the representatives of the Republic as they had frequently done since the end of the eleventh century. We find castles, towns and whole districts, ceded or sold, entirely or in part, to the archbishops, the deed being, however, also signed by a certain number of citizens, generally the Consuls, as consenting parties. These two associates were destined to become rivals as soon as the Commune was acknowleged as a political body and took its place in the feudal hierachy.

[1] Viscontado is the equivalent to Consulship. "Et concedimus eis [Pisani] Vicecomitatem, sive Consulatum pro regenda curia et eorum honore in Tyro."

In 1153 Alberto "Vicecomes major" made a last effort to preserve the old authority of the Viscounts which was fast slipping from their grasp. The Consuls of the city garrisoned the towers and the highest tower-houses, and the streets were deluged with blood. The Viscounts were deposed, the taxes hitherto collected by them were declared to be the property of the Communes and the title Visconte then gradually became a family name. Certain tolls were, however, still enjoyed by the archbishops and the Opera del Duomo.

On March 20, 1160, Guelph, Marquess of Tuscany, whose election by Frederick I. had been ratified by Pope Adrian IV. a short time before he died, summoned a congress at S. Genesio. The Pisans, however, refused to swear fealty to him, save in their own city. Six days later he entered Pisa and was saluted as Dux Pisanus.[1] In return he promised to protect the Pisans, to keep neutral in the quarrel that had broken out at S. Genesio between Lucca and Pisa, and confirmed the ancient privileges and possessions of the Pisan archbishops and canons. This did not deter Archbishop Villano from going in an armed galley to meet Alexander III., who had been driven out of Rome by the Imperialist faction. He asked the Consuls to invite the Pope to Pisa, but they declined, out of love for and dread of the Emperor Frederick, to receive him. They could not well welcome a Pope whom the Emperor refused to acknowledge, after having given him such material aid during the siege of Milan. Frederick wrote to his faithful city of Pisa praising to the skies the valour of her soldiers, and the famous diploma of April 1161 followed. This

[1] That Pisa was regarded as the capital of Tuscany, at least in Germany, is shown by the title given there to Duke Godfrey, Pisanus Marchio et totus Tusciæ et Italiæ dominator. Pertz. VIII. Chron. S. Huberti 581 anno 1069.

exempted Pisan merchants from all fiscal duties in the Empire, bestowed the whole sea-coast from Porta Venere to Civita Vecchio on the city of Pisa in feudal tenure, forbidding anyone to make, or to use, a port, without her consent. Mazzara, Trapani, half of Naples, of Salerno, of Messina and of Palermo, were —rather prematurely—given to the Pisans with the adjoining ports and territory, and the absolute possession of a street in each of these cities. The Emperor also promised not to make peace with William of Sicily without consulting them, to attack Genoa and to seize Porte Venere for them. Their territory was enlarged to the east as far as Barbialla, twenty-eight miles from Pisa; to the south-east as far as Querceto near Volterra; and to the south as far as Cornia and Scarlino, about fifty-six miles distant from the city.

When the King of Sicily heard of the intimate accord between Frederick and Pisa, he imprisoned every Pisan merchant in the Sicilian ports, and sequestered their goods. War also broke out with Genoa. It began with a conflict between Genoese and Pisans in Constantinople; the latter had the advantage of numbers, they drove the Genoese out of the city and seized their merchandise. Genoa sent out armed galleys, devastated Porto Pisano, captured ships and took many prisoners. Then the Emperor, who needed the Pisan fleet for his designs on Sicily, interfered and insisted on peace. In January 1163 the Pisans sent envoys to the Emperor in Lombardy, and they brought back a banner and a sword, given by him to show that he considered Pisa to be above all other Tuscan cities. Archbishop Villano, who had always ignored Frederick's anti-Pope Victor, returned to Pisa early in 1164, when he refused to permit the usual Easter ceremonies to be performed. In April

Victor died at Lucca and the Emperor's Chancellor Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, hastened to elect Guido of Cremona Pope. When the Chancellor and Paschal III. came to Pisa, Villano's position became untenable and he retired to Gorgona, while the Consuls received Christian and the anti-Pope with great honours.[1]

The Genoese, jealous of the supreme position of their hated rival, then incited one of the Sardinian Judges to declare himself independent, and to offer a large sum of money to the ever impecunious Emperor to be named King of Sardinia. Tronci describes the incident with a graphic pen: "Barisoni, Judge of Arborea in Sardinia, being richer than the others and puffed up with pride, bethought himself to increase his dignity by becoming King of Sardinia. Wishing to throw off the yoke of Pisa, he applied to her enemies the Genoese for help. In the hopes of wresting Sardinia from the Pisans and by underhand means to gain what they were unable to get by fair, they encouraged him to take the name of king and sent their ambassadors with his to the Emperor. The Bishop of S. Giusto, who spoke in Barisone's name, promised that the kingdom should be a fief of the Empire, and that a large yearly tribute should be paid, in addition to a sum of 4000 marks of silver. Seduced by the idea of ready money Frederick granted the request, whereupon the Pisans raised their voices aloud and told the court that no living man should bring Barisone to the mainland against their will. The Emperor took offence, and asked the Genoese whether they would undertake to fetch Barisone. They answered that they would do it. Taking four imperial ambassadors they sailed for Sardinia and brought

[1] See *Studi sulle Istituzione Comunali a Pisa*. Prof. G. Volpe, 166 *et seq.*, Pisa, 1902.

Barisone to Genoa, from whence they accompanied him to Pavia. There, on August 1, in the church of S. Sisto, Frederick solemnly crowned him King of Sardinia. The Pisans, unable to contain their anger, returned home." The whole transaction is like a comic opera. The Genoese lent Barisone money to give to Frederick and when they took him back to his kingdom the Sards declined to repay them, so the King was kept in prison for debt in Genoa. At last the Pisans sent an embassy to Frankfurt to negociate about Sardinian affairs. Frederick, probably thinking that the rich city of Pisa would be of more service to him than a bankrupt kinglet, graciously listened to their arguments. Summoning the Council of the Empire "with great pomp and solemnity he gave Uguccione the Consul the imperial banner, sealed the the deed of concession with his gold seal and signed it with his own hand. The Genoese ambassadors were present, and their disgust was as great at seeing Sardinia given back to Pisa with such honour as had been their joy when Barisone was crowned."

Incessant fighting continued between the Pisans and the Genoese, and in 1166 Lucca joined with Genoa, "so great was the rancour and intense hatred they bore us," exclaims Marangone. "The Lucchesi advanced to Monte S. Giuliano and the Pisans slowly marched to meet them, hoping that they would descend into the plain, which they did. Then the Pisans began to fight so bravely that in a short time the enemy was put to flight and pursued as far as Massa. Thus the Lucchesi were again beaten and the Pisans returned with great satisfaction to their city." Soon afterwards they captured several Genoese ships laden with merchandise, and during the following year the two cities seized each other's ships, and harried villages and towns on the coast.

About this time, the new walls round Pisa having been built, the old typographical division of the city into three parts, cinthicanus, foriportenis, and de Burgis, was abandoned. It was divided into the four quarters of Chinzica, Foriporta, di Mezzo, and Ponte, and the ancient walled city formed only one quarter of the new Pisa, that of di Mezzo.

Frederick I. was in Lombardy in 1167, and sent his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Mayence, to Pisa to summon a public parliament. In the name of the Emperor he demanded that the Pisans should recognise Paschal III. as the true and only Pope and elect another archbishop to be confirmed by him; and that they should join him in an expedition against Sicily and Calabria. The Pisans agreed to his demands, and when Frederick and his wife Beatrice came from Rome to Pisa they were received with great honour. "The keys of the city," writes Marangone, "were offered in a silver basin by the Consuls and a baldaquin of cloth of gold was held over their heads. All the people rushed to see such a triumphal entry, shouting 'Imperio! Imperio!' not for mere ceremony but with all their hearts. After vespers Frederick caused the people to be assembled and in their presence thanked the Consuls, not only for the honourable reception the city had given him, but for the galleys they had sent for his service to Civita Vecchia and to Rome, and for other things the Pisans had done. Adding that he loved Pisa more than any other Tuscan or Italian city."

Almeric, King of Jerusalem, sent an ambassador in 1168 to thank the Pisans for the help given to him during the siege of Alexandria—forty galleys and a great tower which they placed against the walls, and from whence they shot into the city. Marangone, as usual, declares that the city surrendered owing to the

EAST DOOR, BAPTISTERY

bravery of the Pisans, who thus won for themselves everlasting fame in Egypt and in Syria. The King gave them land at S. Jean d'Acre for building a church, which they did—S. Peter of the Pisans. He also granted them a court of justice, with the right of being tried according to their own laws; serious crimes, such as homicide and treason were, however, reserved for the King's court.[1] These grants gave the Pisans advantages over their enemies the Genoese, as they annulled, or transferred to them, privileges formerly belonging to Genoa. Almeric also gave to the Commune of Pisa every right of trade throughout the whole territory which they had occupied, and a *curiam* in the town of Babylon, besides exempting them from paying taxes in certain cities; praying them to aid in protecting Jerusalem, which was menaced by the Soldan of Persia, by Noureddin, Sultan of Aleppo, and by Saladin. They replied that if they made peace with their enemies they would do all they could to help the King. Their "enemies" were, as usual, the Genoese, against whom they were perpetually sending out fleets, and the Lucchesi, with whom they were always fighting, and who tried to make a league against them. But Florence refused to join, and in 1172 made a treaty with Pisa. Thus strengthened the Pisans attacked Genoese ships wherever encountered, until they and the Lucchesi sent envoys to complain to the Emperor. He despatched Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, who summoned the representatives of Florence, Lucca, Siena, Genoa and Pisa, before him, and in the Emperor's name commanded that strife should cease between the cities, and that the prisoners of war should be given up to him. Marangone says the Archbishop was bribed by the Lucchesi to demand the prisoners, and that knowing

[1] *Regesta*, *op. cit.*, 117.

this the Pisans refused, whereupon he drove them from his presence with contumely. The Florentines sided with the Pisans and left with them. Genoa then sent out her fleet and sacked the island of Pianosa, which belonged to Pisa. Another council was held in July at Borgo S. Genesio, when the Archbishop insisted on peace being sworn to within forty days by 1000 men of either city, and, continues Marangone, "He demanded as a surety that 100 citizens of Lucca, who were in prison at Pisa, should be given up to him, and these he sent to Florence; fifteen Pisan cavaliers and fifty foot soldiers, who were at Lucca, he sent to Pistoja. Then this Archbishop, who had promised the Lucchesi to obtain the release of their prisoners, made other demands, all for greed of money. The Florentines and the Pisans refused to accede, so he seized and imprisoned them in Lucca. War again broke out between the Pisans and the Florentines on one side, the Archbishop, Lucca, and Genoa on the other. The Pisans sent ambassadors to the Emperor in Germany with bitter complaints of the conduct of his chancellor; his reply was that all had been done without his knowledge, that he was coming to Italy and would then set things right."

In spite of the incessant wars with Genoa and Lucca the Pisans found time to think of beautifying their city. In August 1174, after much debating about architects and plans, the first stone of the famous Leaning Tower was laid. In the same year the Emperor returned to Italy and found himself confronted by a strong league of the confederate Lombard towns. Completely beaten at Legnano in 1176 he was fain to consent to a truce of six years, and to acknowledge Alexander III. as the rightful Pope.

In the interests of trade the Pisans must have made friends with Saladin, as already in 1173 he had pro-

mised them the right of free trade throughout Egypt.[1] Two years later they actually fought against the Christians as his allies. Marangone tells us that "in 1176 William, King of Sicily, went with 150 galleys, and 250 ships for carrying horses and engines of war, to take Alexandria in Egypt. In the port was a Pisan ship which the Sicilians burnt, and then landed to attack the town, which was valiantly defended by the Saracens. The walls were destroyed, and many men were killed before they entered. Then the Pisans, ardently desirous of revenging their ship, joined the Saracens. After four days of hard fighting the Sicilians were put to flight. More than 100 horsemen and 300 foot-soldiers were taken prisoners, while 1000 horsemen fled. The King, seeing his army so weakened that he was left almost alone, returned to his kingdom with small honour, and left the town to the Saracens."

When the Emperor came to Pisa he was well received, although his decision about Sardinia, half of which he commanded to be ceded to Genoa, did not please the Pisans. The Genoese and the Lucchesi, on the other hand, were furious at his commanding them to dismantle the strong fortress of Viareggio, built at great expense as a menace to Pisa. However, noble Pisan youths met Frederick at the gate of the city with a baldaquin of brocade, and the Lung' Arno was magnificently adorned with triumphal arches and statues representing his splendid achievements.

After long discussions peace was at last signed in 1184 between the Lucchesi and the Pisans, who were then enabled to give their attention to affairs in the East. Owing to the incompetence of Guy de Lusignan, Regent for Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem, who had become blind through leprosy, Saladin had been

[1] *Regesta, op. cit.*

enabled to cross the Jordan and to attack the Christians. Convoys of food had been cut off, and there was a great famine. The Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians, who according to custom convoyed the cargoes they had brought from Italy inland, fared the worst. On July 6, 1187, Saladin destroyed the Christian army at Tiberias, towns and castles opened their gates to the victorious infidel, and on October 3 Jerusalem capitulated. Tyre was saved only by the arrival of Conrad, Marquess of Montferrat, at the head of an Italian fleet. He confirmed the concessions made by Raymond, Count of Tripoli, to the Pisans in recognition of their services during the siege. The list is a long one. It includes many houses and the right of having bakeries in them, two horse-mills, and the bath that had been King Baldwin's; besides allowing them to use their own coinage, weights, and measures (modii) for wine, etc., he added new privileges and liberties.[1] He also promised that if by the help of God the Christians won back Joppa, he would place the Pisans in possession of the houses that once belonged to them, and of rights and privileges such as they enjoyed at Tyre.[2]

Soon after the fall of Jerusalem Pope Urban III. died. His successor, Gregory VIII., sent legates all through Christendom, imposed a universal tax, called Saladin's tithe, on all classes,[3] and knowing, says Tronci, "how necessary were the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, he came in person to Pisa in 1187 to make peace between the rival Republics." But he died after a reign of only fifty-seven days, and was buried in a sumptuous tomb outside the principal door of the cathedral. His successor, Clement III., was crowned

[1] *Regesta, op. cit.*, 177. [2] *Regesta, op. cit.*, 178.
[3] *The History and Literature of the Crusades.* Heinrich von Sybel, edited by Lady Duff Gordon. London, 1861, 94.

in Pisa on January 7, 1188. He reconciled Henry II. of England with Philip Augustus of France, and they both swore to abandon earthly quarrels and to become warriors of the Cross. Pilgrims thronged from Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia, but the zeal was not great in Germany until the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, at the age of near seventy, took the Cross in March 1188, and by his firm and powerfull will collected together a mass of nearly 100,000 pilgrims.[1] He drove out all disorderly and useless persons from his camp and led a compact army of 20,000 knights and 50,000 soldiers across Asia Minor. Hope rose high among the Christians as the great Emperor entered Cilicia; Saladin declared his intention of retreating across the Euphrates as soon as Frederick arrived in Syria, the Emirs prepared for flight. But, on 10th June 1190, as the German army was slowly crossing a narrow bridge over the rapid mountain torrent Seleph, Frederick, impatient to get to the front, urged his horse into the stream and was swept away by the raging waters. When drawn out, far down the river, he was a corpse.[2] His son Henry returned to Germany after his father's death, and in 1192 went to Rome to be crowned Emperor by Celestin III. Tancred, King of Sicily, was in open revolt against the Church, so the Pope commanded that Constance, who as the daughter of the late king was the rightful heir to the Sicilian crown, should quit her convent and marry the Emperor Henry. It was looked upon as well nigh a miracle when the Empress, a woman of fifty, gave birth to a son.

Henry sent ambassadors to the Pisans, always the faithful allies of his father and of the Empire, to ask for help to subdue Sicily and Apulia, and thirty galleys

[1] *The History and Literature of the Crusades*, 96-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 107.

were at once despatched. In return the Emperor granted them sovereign rights not only over their own city, but over a considerable extent of territory, including sixty-four smaller towns and castles. He gave them Corsica, Elba, Capraia, and Pianosa, confirmed the feudal rights bestowed by his father, and the privilege of electing their Consuls and magistrates.

Pisa was probably governed by Consuls as early as 1063. She certainly entered into costly and distant wars, as, for instance, against Genoa (1077), Tunis (1099), the Balearic Islands (1114-1116), and Amalfi (1135), without demanding the permission of the Emperors or of the Marquesses of Tuscany. Then, like other Italian Communes, she was governed by a Podestà, mentioned for the first time in 1199 and afterwards intermittently with Consuls, until the very name of the laws were changed, in 1236, from *Breve dei Consoli del Comune* to *Breve Pisani Podestatis*, occasionally called *Breve Pisani Communis*.[1] Far more interesting than these laws, which were more or less common to all Italian cities, is the *Consolato del Mare*, the written code of maritime law, which Hallam declares "has defined the mutual rights of neutral and belligerent vessels, and thus laid the basis of the positive law of nations in its most important and disputed cases."[2] According to Schaube, it is mentioned in the history of Pisa in 1201, when the Tunisian authorities complained to "the Archbishop, the *Consuls of the Sea*, the Elders of the Commune, and the Men of Pisa in general," of the damage done in the harbour of Tunis by Pisan pirates.[3] But the charter granted

[1] *Manuale di Storia del Diritto Italiano.* Francesco Schupfer, 377.

[2] *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.* H. Hallam, 12 ed. III, 333.

[3] *Das Consulat des Meeres in Pisa.* Adolf Schaube, 4.

to Pisa in 1081 by Henry IV. seems to denote that it existed at an earlier date. The first statutes of the *Ordo Maris* that have come down to us are dated 1297, but many of the articles are evidently copied from far older documents, as they refer to Consuls as ruling the Commune, instead of to Elders and to Captains of the People. In the *Breve Maris* it is laid down that the statutes of the *Ordo* are to be revised every year by the Consuls aided by a notary. After 1311 the *Breve di Ordo Maris* were translated into the vulgar tongue (*Breve dell' Ordine del Mare*). But it was not a mere translation. Many of the statutes were considerably altered, and in 1336 fifteen new articles were added. Not only all shipowners, sailors, ship-builders, sail and rope makers, were put under the jurisdiction of the Consuls of the Sea, but also the men who worked in the docks and all strangers who brought goods into the Pisan waters, and even the brokers. The Consuls were charged to put down piracy, and had galleys for that purpose. If stolen goods came into their possession or into that of anyone belonging to the Ordo, the goods were to be returned to the rightful owner; if they belonged to a Saracen, they were to be sent back by the first ship to the Levant.[1]

[1] In the Campo Santo of Pisa is an inscription—a copy made in 1811 from a transcript of a lost original—which shows that in very early Roman times the shipwrights of Pisa had a guild, or *collegium*, which word was used then as it is at the present day, to designate a body corporate, which most probably had its own laws and its representatives. The translation runs: "Marcus Nævius Restitutus, of the Galerian (voting) tribe, son of Marcus, a soldier of the 10th prætorian cohort, rests here, who left in his will to the most ancient and worthy guild of shipwrights of Pisa 4000 sesterces, from the interest of which they are to keep up sacrifices for the dead and offerings of rose-wreaths yearly at his tomb. If this is not done by them then by the same

The *Constitutum Legis* and the *Constitutum Usus* certainly date from the first half of the twelfth century. Parts of the former bear the date of 1146, and it contains seventeen articles. The *Constitutum Usus* was first revised in 1160, but must have been far older, as the introduction states that the city had long been guided by usages which the Previsores, or Judges, had followed, but not unanimously. It was added to from 1221 to 1233, and contains twenty-six articles. Schupfer says that it is the best civil and commercial code of those days, combining much of the Roman law with some of the Langobard, but at the same time creating new procedures and modifying ancient ones, to suit a new order of things, particularly with regard to commercial matters.[1]

Meanwhile the Pisans were of great assistance to Philip Augustus of France and to Richard of England in the siege of S. Jean d'Acre. They made a huge machine called the Cat, which they pushed up against the walls of the town, thus protecting the sappers at their work of undermining.[2] But when they sided with Conrad of Tyre against Richard, the old chronicler declares that the king's friends could no longer bear their pre-eminence at sea, and their perpetual coming and going from Tyre. So they were expelled. But they speedily returned and received trading privileges.[3]

The old hatred between the Pisans and the Genoese

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arrangement, the carpenters of Pisa, receiving 4000 sesterces from the shipwrights as a penalty, will be bound themselves to keep up" (the sacrifices and offerings). The inscription will be found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, xi. 14361, and in *Pisa Illustrata*, A. da Morrona, ii. 325.

[1] *Manuale di Storia*, etc., *op. cit.*, 392.

[2] *Recueil*, *op. cit.*, ii. 157. (From the continuation of William of Tyre's *Historia*, by an unknown author, written in old French.)

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 202-03.

had broken out fiercely when they were at Messina with the Emperor Henry, and a pitched battle had been fought between the two fleets. Afterwards the Pisans incited some of their citizens, who were little better than pirates, to take possession of, and to rebuild, the castle of Bonifazio in Corsica. From this stronghold they swooped down on passing Genoese ships and did untold damage. Genoa sent a deputation to complain, and the answer was that the Commune of Pisa had nothing to do with the rebuilding of the fortress or with the deeds of those who had installed themselves there, adding that they had also suffered, and would help in besieging the castle. The Genoese, furious at being laughed at, sent a fleet, took Bonifazio, and seized many Pisan vessels. War continued for several years, and at last Innocent sent legates to try and make peace. The Pisans refused, so the Pope, whose anger had been aroused by their acknowledging Philip of Suabia as Emperor, against his candidate Otho of Brunswick, excommunicated the city. In 1200, finding they were always involved in war, the Pisans built an arsenal at Porto Pisano large enough to hold seventy galleys, and a smaller one close by. The new arsenal was soon in full work as the Pisans attacked Siracuse, to whose help Genoa, and Henry, Count of Malta, sent a fleet. The besiegers were dispersed with considerable loss, so the hatred between the rival cities became intensified, and the chronicles contain little else than lists of vessels taken or sunk on either side. At length the expense and the loss of life induced them to listen to the Emperor Otho IV., who in 1210 arranged a peace, which was agreed to by 500 of the chief burghers and the Consuls of Genoa, and 500 noble citizens and the Consuls of the Sea of Pisa. Indeed the government of Pisa at that moment was in the hands of the *Consules Pisa-*

norum Ordinis Maris. The citizens were divided among themselves; some favoured the old system of government by the various bodies of Consuls, others the more concentrated rule of the Podestà, and the quarrel was accentuated by the mutual jealousy of the nobles.

S. Francis of Assisi came to Pisa in 1211, and by his preaching gained many disciples. One of them was Agnello degl' Agnelli, founder of the Franciscan monastery in Pisa, who became the first Guardian of the Order in France. Tronci says that "Agnello died in Oxford, after founding several monasteries in England, and performing great works and divers miracles. His body was placed in a wooden coffin in the church of his Order in Oxford, and when the friars decided to transfer his relics to a more worthy sepulchre they found his body had dissolved, not into dust, but into most sweetly odorous oil, in which his bones were floating."

When Frederick II. was crowned in Rome in 1220 all the cities of Italy sent ambassadors. According to usage they paid visits to the cardinals after the ceremony. One of these had a pretty and clever little dog, which one of the Florentine envoys admired. "Knowing," writes an old chronicler, "the liberality of the Cardinal, he begged for the dog, and Monsignore promised to give it to him when he left Rome. A few days later the Pisans dined with the Cardinal and they admired the dog so much that he, forgetting it had already been given to the Florentine, offered it to them, but said he would keep it until they went home. The Florentine ambassador sent for the dog a few days before starting for Florence, and when the Pisans reminded the Cardinal of his promise, with much confusion he told them that the little dog had already been given to a Florentine." The

Pisans thought this was a studied affront, and meeting the Florentines in Rome they came to blows, and were worsted. When the Podestà and the Elders of Pisa heard of the insult offered to their ambassadors they ordered all the merchandise belonging to Florentines in Pisa to be seized, and refused to listen to any explanation. So in 1222 there was a great battle, in which the Pisans were worsted, and 1300 men were taken in chains to Florence. "Thus was manifested the justice of God," exclaims Villani, "that the Pisans should be punished for their pride, arrogance and ingratitude. These battles and disasters in Italy, particularly in Tuscany in the cities of Pisa and Florence, began for so miserable a thing as a quarrel about a little dog; of which one can only say that it was a devil in the shape of a dog, on account of all the ills that came to pass."[1]

Ever faithful to the Empire the Pisans put a large fleet at the orders of Frederick II. for his expedition to the Holy Land, and in return he confirmed the rights and privileges they had acquired in Tyre, Acre and Joppa. When Frederick sailed for the second time to Syria, pursued by the excommunication of Gregory IX. (1228), he obtained for the Christians, by a masterly stroke of diplomatic policy without drawing the sword, the possession of the Holy Places. According to the Pisan Chronicles[2] the Pope, after inciting Sicily and Naples to revolt, wrote to the Soldan to advise him to attack the Emperor, assuring him that no help would be despatched from Italy. The Soldan sent the Pope's letter to Frederick, who returned to Italy, beat the Papal troops, and put down the rebellion in the Kingdom of Naples. The Pisans also fell under the displeasure of the Pope and were

[1] *Cronaca di Giovanni Villani*, xi. 10.
[2] *Croniche di Pisa*, Rerum. Ital. Scrip., i. 500.

excommunicated, which made them still more ghibelline. So when Gregory summoned a Council to depose Frederick, and cardinals, apostolic legates and prelates assembled in Genoa to embark for Rome, forty Pisan galleys joined the imperial fleet under Enzo, the fair-haired son of the Emperor. A great battle ensued, several ecclesiastics and Genoese nobles were drowned, others were taken prisoners. When Enzo wrote to his father to ask what he was to do with them the Emperor answered :—

> "Omnes Prelati Papa mandate vocati
> Et tres Legati, veniant huc usque legati."

Legates and nobles were accordingly sent to him at Amalfi in chains, whereupon the Pope renewed the excommunication against the Pisans, deprived their city of all her privileges, deposed her archbishop and declared Sardinia free.

When Louis IX. of France started for the abortive sixth crusade he sent to the Syrian ports to engage Italian vessels for the transport of his troops. But they demanded such exorbitant sums that the negotiations fell through. Instead of serving the King they fought among themselves; the old French chronicler, under the date of 1249, says: "Et fu en Acre la guerre de Pisans et de Genovois qui dura XXVIII jors, et jeterent les uns as autres de XXII manieres d'engins, perrieres, trebuches et mangouniaus."[1] The following year the Sardinian judges, encouraged by the edict of the Pope, refused to obey the commands of the Republic; so Pisa sent an army, the judges fled, and their places were filled by four trustworthy Pisan nobles. Consternation was general in Pisa when the death of Frederick II., at Firenzuola, was known. For him her citizens had braved the anger of the

[1] *Recueil, op. cit.*, ii. 437.

Church and lain for twenty-nine years under interdict, and for him many had died. They at once acknowledged his son Conrad as Emperor and placed their fleet at his disposal for the siege of Naples. Soon after the surrender of the city Conrad died, and bitter war broke out in Tuscany between the guelphs and the ghibellines. The Lucchesi were attacked and beaten by the Pisans and the Siennese at Montopoli, whereupon the Florentines abandoned the siege of Tizzano, a castle near Prato, and marched in all haste against them. After a severe struggle the Florentines were victorious and Tronci writes: "Then was witnessed the inconstancy of fortune, for those Lucchesi who had been bound, and were being taken prisoners to Pisa, of a sudden found themselves free. They bound the Pisans with the same ropes and led them prisoners to Lucca."

S. MARIA DELLA SPINA

CHAPTER III

Decline of the Pisan Power

". . . That mew, which for my sake the name
Of Famine bears, when others yet must pine."
—*Hell*, xxxiii. 23, 24, Dante. Cary's translation.

OF the political upheaval of 1254, which put an end to the rule of the Commune in Pisa and founded that of the People, we have no details. It is mentioned by an old chronicler in one short and pithy sentence: "In the time of the Podestà, Jacopo de' Avvocati, the People of Pisa rose and seized the government, taking it away from the nobles." What power the Podestà had possessed he now shared with the Captain of the People, but the real government was exercised by the College of Elders, who were elected every two months exclusively from the ranks of the burghers. Whilst the city was in the throes of revolution the Florentine army, having subjugated Volterra, appeared before the gates of Pisa. "Knowing," writes Villani, "of the taking of the strong city of Volterra the Pisans were afeard. They sent ambassadors, bearing the keys of the city as a sign of humility, to the Florentines to

treat for peace. Peace was granted on the promise that Florentine goods should be for ever free of duty on entering or on leaving the city of Pisa; that the Pisans should adopt Florentine weights and measures; that they should not make war on Florence or give aid to her enemies; and that either Piombino or the castle of Ripafratta should be given up to them. A Pisan named Vernagallo then said: "If we wish to delude the Florentines let us show ourselves more anxious to keep Ripafratta, thus will they take it." And so it happened. Ripafratta was taken and soon afterwards given to Lucca. It showed small discernment not to have chosen Piombino, a seaport."[1] The curious vein of childishness which crops up now and again in the Italians in the middle ages was shown by the Pisans, who out of bravado set a stone shaped like a bale of merchandise over the door of one of the towers they had built at Lerici, after taking the place from Genoa, with an inscription insulting to Genoa, Portovenere and Lucca.[2] Furious at being thus flouted, the Genoese and the Lucchesi attacked and took the castle, and the offending stone was taken to Genoa and destroyed with every mark of ignominy.

The only cities remaining faithful to the ghibelline party were Pisa and Siena. The former was in constant communication by sea with Manfred, who incited her to attack Lucca. She also made a treaty with Alfonso, King of Castille, who had been elected Emperor by a strong party in Germany. The Pisans

[1] *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, ii. 83.

[2] Stoppa in bocca al Genovese.
Crepacuore a Portovenere.
Strappa borsello al Lucchese.

Tow in the mouth of the Genoese.
Agony to the heart of Portovenere.
A rent in the purse of the Lucchese.

marched against Lucca, but were lured into a trap and utterly routed by a combined force of Florentines and Lucchesi, while the Genoese disembarked in Sardinia and took the castle of Castro. So Pisa was forced to make a new peace with Florence, which was signed in September 1256 on very onerous terms. The Pisans had long been desirous of being reconciled to the Church, and the old chronicler says that "mutual friends of Alexander IV. and of the Pisans advised the latter to coin 3000 golden florins with the effigy of Pisa. This was done. The florins were put into a silver basin and offered by these friends to the Pope, who exclaimed 'Blessed be the city by whom these florins were coined,' and then he was told that they came from Pisa." Anxious to send aid to the Christians in Syria, the Pope raised the interdict under which Pisa had lain for twenty-nine years, and tried to make peace between her and Genoa. But Pisa remained obstinately imperial. In May 1261 she joined the league "to the honour of King Manfred and the ghibellines," and her fleet, with Manfred's, made a vain attempt to prevent Charles of Anjou from going to Rome to receive the Sicilian crown. He retaliated by seizing, on the pretext of a squabble between Provençal and Pisan sailors, merchandise belonging to Pisan merchants, and forbidding them to trade with Sicily.

The death of King Manfred at Benevento in 1266 was deeply mourned by Pisa, who, with other ghibelline cities, sent ambassadors to young Conradin, grandson of the great Emperor Frederick II., inviting him to come to Italy, and promising him help in men and money. This step cost Pisa dear. Early in 1268 Charles of Anjou and the Florentines devastated her territory, took many castles, seized Porto Pisano, and destroyed the towers which defended the harbour. An old

chronicler remarks that Charles' men, being northerners, did not feel the cold of January, and thought it was spring. A few months later young Conradin arrived in Pisa, and was received with the honours due to an emperor. Pope Clement despatched legates to command him not to advance, or to fight against King Charles, champion and Vicar of the Holy Church, under pain of excommunication. Conradin, however, writes Villani, "did not desist from his design, nor obey the commands of the Pope, it seeming to him that his cause was just, and that the Kingdom [Naples] and Sicily were his by right. So he fell under the ban of the Church which he disdained and disregarded." Not only were Conradin and his chief followers excommunicated, but also the citizens of Verona, Pavia, Siena and Pisa, and the ghibellines of the Marches of Ancona. The young prince brought with him 500 knights, Pavia sent him 12,000 ounces of gold and Pisa gave him 17,000, so he started for the conquest of his kingdom with a light heart. The hopes of the ghibellines were, however, crushed at the battle of Tagliacozzo when Conradin was defeated, and the poor lad ended his life on the scaffold. The Lucchesi, reinforced by the Captain of King Charles in Tuscany, besieged and took Castiglione, in the valley of the Serchio, and advancing to the very gates of Pisa, according to custom, coined money to show their contempt. So disheartened were the Pisans that when Gregory X. passed through Florence in 1273, they sent ambassadors humbly to ask pardon for their past errors, to beg that the dignity of archbishop might be restored to the head of their cathedral, and that the Pope would intercede for them with King Charles. Gregory, who dreamed of another crusade, when the Pisan fleet would be most useful, granted their requests, and made peace between them and Charles of Anjou.

Internal dissensions now broke out in Pisa. Ugolino della Gherardesca, Count of Donoratico, had become too powerful to please the Pisan burghers, so in May 1275, he and the principal guelphs of the city were expelled. Obtaining aid from Florence, Lucca and the Tuscan guelphs, they overran the territory of Pisa, and took Vico-Pisano and other castles. This was followed by another raid, when Villani tells us that "out of fear of the Florentines the Pisans had made a deep canal, which joined the Arno, more than ten miles long, eight miles away from their city. They built bridges and defences, and erected small wooden loop-holed towers, and behind them stood the Pisan army. The Florentines, however, found an unguarded passage across the canal, whereupon the Pisans fled in disorder, and were pursued to the very gates of the city. Many were killed and many were taken, and after this defeat the Pisans sued for peace and obeyed the Florentine commands, reinstating Ugolino and the other guelphs in their possessions."

Peace now reigned for a time, and Villani, who we must not forget was a Florentine and a guelph, continues: "At this time (1282) there were more powerful and rich citizens in Pisa than in any other city in Italy; the Judge of Gallura in Sardinia; the Counts Ugolino, Lapo, Neri and Anechino, and the Judge of Arborea, also in Sardinia, and they all held high state. The Pisans were lords of Sardinia, of Corsica, and of Elba, and their private revenues, as well as those of the Commune, were immense. It may be said that their ships had command of the sea. In the town of Acre they were most powerful, and were related to many of the rich burghers there. Jealousy had existed for some time about the island of Sardinia between them and the Genoese, whom they accounted almost as women in matters of navigation,

and despised. In Acre, the Pisans insulted the Genoese, and aided by their relations among the burghers drove them out with fire and with sword. The Genoese thus maltreated, and being by nature proud, in revenge manned a fleet of 70 galleys, and in August 1282 approached within two miles of Porto Pisano. The Pisans sallied forth with 75 galleys, and the Genoese, seeing that the enemy was stronger, and that their own fleet was chiefly manned by Lombard and Piedmontese hirelings, would not accept battle, but returned home. The Pisans then arrogantly sailed to the port of Genoa and shot quadrangular silver shafts (*quadrelle d'ariento*) into the town, and then ravaged the coast by Portovenere and the Gulf of Spezia. On their homeward voyage it pleased God to send a tempest, with such violent and impetuous wind from the south-west that the fleet was scattered. Twenty-three galleys were cast ashore at Viareggio and at the mouth of the Serchio. Few men perished, but many returned to Pisa naked; some had only a shirt on, as though they had been despoiled by an enemy. The Genoese, to revenge the insult received from the Pisans, like wise men ordered that no more foreigners were to be admitted on their fleet as had been the case hitherto, but only the best and most important of their citizens."

This seems to have had the desired effect, for during the next year the Genoese twice beat the Pisans and took many prisoners and much treasure. Villani tells us that in 1284 the Pisans determined to take revenge, and armed 70 galleys. "They sailed to the port of Genoa and insulted the Genoese, took ships and boats, robbed and harried the coast, and then, with great parade and noise, dared the Genoese to come out and fight. Not being prepared, they excused themselves with fair and noble words, saying that if they fought

in their own harbour the Pisans would lose their revenge and their own honour would be small, but that if the Pisans would return to Porto Pisano they would arm their galleys, come with all speed to meet them, and be masters of the battle. And this was done. The Pisans departed with loud shouts of derision, mocking the people of Genoa, and returned to Pisa. In all haste the Genoese armed 130 galleys and ships, and under Messer Uberto Doria, entered the Pisan waters in August. With shouts and cries the Pisans embarked, some at Porto Pisano, some at Pisa. The Podestà Morosini, the Admiral Ugolino della Gherardesca, Count of Donoratico, and the chief citizens, went on board a galley in the city between the two bridges, and amid great acclamations hoisted the standard. When the archbishop and the clergy came to bless the expedition the ball and the cross at the top of the standard fell, which wise men looked upon as an evil omen. But the Pisans heeded it not, and with great pride and shouting Battle! Battle! dropped down to the mouth of the Arno, where they joined the galleys from Porto Pisano. The number of vessels was 83. The Genoese awaited them on the high seas and engaged in battle off the island, or rather rock, of Meloria. Fierce and long was the fight, and many good men on either side died from wounds or by drowning. At length, as it pleased God, the Genoese were victorious. The Pisans received infinite damage by the loss of so many good citizens—16,000 men dead or prisoners—and of 40 galleys captured, besides those that were sunk in the sea. The galleys and the prisoners were taken to Genoa, and the only rejoicings made were processions and masses to thank God; for which the Genoese were much commended. In Pisa there was lamentation and woe. There was not a house or a family that had not

lost several men either dead or in prison. From that day Pisa never recovered her position or her power." Then it was that the proverb arose: "He who would see Pisa must go to Genoa."

By many the loss of the battle was attributed to the cowardice, or worse, of the admiral. He is said to have fled when the Genoese captured the Podestà's galley, and he was the first to bring the evil tidings to Pisa. Roncioni states that Ugolino never forgot or forgave his banishment and his deposition from his judgeship in Sardinia ten years before, though he had been astute enough to hide his resentment after being reinstated at the instance of the Florentines. He defended himself so adroitly before the hastily summoned Council that they named him Podestà and Captain of the Forces. A contemporary chronicler, Jacopo Doria, who was evidently behind the scenes, says this was done because they hoped that being in high favour at Florence and at Lucca, he might prevent the guelph cities from forming a league against Pisa. His nephew, Nino Visconti, Judge of Gallura in Sardinia, was appointed Captain of the People, and together they expelled the chief ghibelline families from the city, gave several castles up to the Florentines, and ceded Viareggio to Lucca. Pisa was nigh losing all political liberty. Even Elders of the People were condemned to death. Only the Consuls of the Sea were respected, for we find that in 1286 both Podestà and Captain solemnly swore to observe the *Breve Curiæ Ordinis Maris*, and to include one of the Consuls of the Sea in any commission for changing the *Breve Communis*. The following year saw a change in the laws issued under the authority of the Consuls of the Commune. What once had been guarantees of liberty became instruments of tyranny under the altered names of

Breve Pisani Communis and *Breve Pisani Populi et Compagniarum*.[1]

Meanwhile Nino Visconti went to Sardinia where he obtained considerable influence. Ugolino, fearing lest he might establish himself there as ruler, sent his son Guelph to recall him, and when he returned refused to receive him again in the government, so civil war ensued. Archbishop Ruggieri degl' Ubaldini then saw his opportunity. He offered to expell Visconti and advised Ugolino to visit one of his castles for a few days. Ruggieri then summoned the chiefs of the ghibelline party, and Nino Visconti fled to Calci. Dark looks and menacing words met Count Ugolino as he rode to the palace of the Elders, only to find the Archbishop installed as Podestà and Captain of the People, who declared that the Pisans were sick to death of his cruelty and tyranny and would no longer recognise his authority. Ugolino hastened to his own palace and sent his grandson Nino Gherardesca, surnamed Il Brigata, to summon his friend and ally Tieri da Bientina, who entered the town by boat with 1000 men. All night and all day fighting continued, and then, as Villani writes "fortune, as it pleased God, turned her face from him. The people rose in wrath, and unable to withstand so furious an onset the besieged gave way and the palace was taken. In the fight a bastard son [Landuccio] of Ugolino's was killed, and one of his grandsons. The Count, two of his sons and two of his grandsons, were taken prisoners, and his followers and all the guelphs were driven out of Pisa."

[1] The former was revised in 1303, and nine times again between that date and 1338. The latter was revised six times between 1307 and 1324, in which year a translation was made, "so that persons who know no grammar, *i.e.* are not learned, can have a perfect understanding of the things they wish to know."

TOWER OF FAMINE

The Pisans engaged Count Guido of Montefeltro, who had been placed under the ban of the Church, as their Captain, so the Pope excommunicated the Commune of Pisa as an enemy and a rebel. Ugolino della Gherardesca, his sons Gaddo and Uguccione, and his grandsons Anselmuccio and Nino Il Brigata, had been imprisoned in the Gualandi tower on the Piazza degl' Anziani, or delle Sette Vie, and as the new Captain entered the city the keys of the prison door were thrown into the Arno. It was strictly forbidden to give food to the prisoners, who in a few days died of hunger. "With loud cries," writes Villani, "the Count had begged for absolution, but neither friar nor priest was allowed to approach the tower. The five corpses were taken out and ignominiously buried (see p.) and ever since it has been called the Tower of Hunger. The Pisans were greatly blamed by the whole world for such cruelty. Not on account of Ugolino, who for his sins and his treachery perhaps deserved such a death, but for his sons and his grandsons, who were innocent youths." The Pope cited the Archbishop to appear before him after the deaths of the Gherardesca, but Ruggieri paid no heed to the twice repeated summons, or to the interdict which followed.

Montefeltro had a hard task to procure soldiers as Pisa was surrounded by hostile troops. He however drilled five hundred citizens and defended the city against the Lucchesi, the Florentines, amongst whom was Dante, the exiled Pisans, and other Tuscan guelphs. The Lucchesi gave a *palio* to be raced for in honour of S. Regulus and then raided the country round and took Caprona. The great friendship between Dante and Nino Visconti probably dated from the campaign of 1289.

The following year the Florentines and the Luc-

chesi again marched on Pisa, while the Genoese attacked Leghorn and Porto Pisano. The two towers which guarded the entrance of the port were destroyed, lighters full of stones were sunk across the entrance, while the lighthouse was undermined and thrown into the sea with the men who were in it. In December 1291 Count Guido took his revenge. Villani writes: "Hearing that the castle of Pontedera was carelessly guarded and that many of the garrison had gone to celebrate Christmas in Florence, he attacked it. The place was strong, with thick walls and many towers, and wide ditches full of water, which were crossed by means of small boats he carried with him. The walls were scaled with ladders of rope, and by reason of the bad watch, or as some say of the bad faith, of the captains who did not keep the number of men they were paid for, the castle was taken and the captains and their fifty soldiers were slain. (There ought to have been a hundred and fifty.) Thus by their avarice the captains lost their own lives and brought shame on the Commune of Florence, for this was one of the strongest castles on the Italian plains."

To revenge the taking of Pontedera the Florentines overran the Pisan territory, burnt villages, destroyed the crops, and then, as usual, held games and races outside the gates of the city. At last peace was concluded between Pisa and Florence on condition that the Pisans dismissed Count Guido of Montefeltro and reinstated Nino Visconti, Judge of Gallura, and the other guelphs in all their possessions. She was also forced to cede part of Sardinia and Bonifazio in Corsica to Genoa, who then set free the prisoners taken sixteen years before at Meloria. "The Pisans thought," writes Tronci, "to welcome home many, but of the 16,000 men not 10 per cent. had survived, and most of them were either too old or too infirm to bear arms

again. They were received with indescribable joy." In her distress Pisa adopted the singular plan of electing Boniface VIII. her Podestà, with a large salary. He raised the interdict and sent Count Elio of Colle as his Vicar. But he took advantage of the fallen fortunes of Pisa to make a treaty with James III. of Aragon, which contained a secret clause conferring upon him the island of Sardinia, on condition that he renounced his claims on Sicily. Meanwhile messengers arrived from the newly-elected Emperor Henry VII., announcing his speedy arrival and asking the Elders of his well-beloved and faithful city to send him money. 60,000 golden florins were at once despatched and an equal sum was promised as soon as the Emperor arrived in Pisa. In 1312 he entered the city amid great rejoicing. Through gaily-decked streets spanned with triumphal arches he rode first to the cathedral, and then to the Palazzo degl' Anziani, which had been prepared for his reception. He went on to Rome in April to be crowned, but left the Eternal city directly after the ceremony. Resting at Tivoli and then at Todi and Arezzo, the Emperor was persuaded by the ghibellines, against the advice of his German barons, to invest rebellious Florence. On September 19 the imperialist army was at S. Salvi, where Henry fell ill. Raising the siege he withdrew to Poggibonsi, and a ghibelline Milanese chronicler writes: "Those stupid Germans, always intent on thieving, ignoring military discipline and knowing no mercy, robbed friendly and peaceful villages, burning what they could not take away." Famine stared the imperialists in the face and the Emperor determined to retreat to Pisa. But first he held a High Court of Justice, condemned the guelph cities to lose their privileges and ordered their inhabitants to destroy their fortified walls. Those who had abetted in the rebellion against himself

he banished the Empire and declared their goods to be confiscated. All the judges and notaries in Florence he dismissed, and fined her citizens, while the Commune was condemned to pay 100,000 marks in silver. As to King Robert, convicted of giving aid and encouragement to rebels, the Emperor deposed him and his heirs, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The King answered by declaring Henry VII. to be unworthy of the imperial crown, a robber, and as loquacious and garrulous in his writings as any old woman. Early in March Henry reached Pisa, ill, without money, and with few followers.[1] The Pisans furnished him with another sum of 60,000 florins, but their welcome lacked the enthusiasm of former days. After repeating his condemnation of the guelph cities, and writing a long statement to the Pope, he marched on Siena, but on August 24, 1313, he died at Buonconvento, poisoned, according to some, in receiving the Holy Communion. His death was a bitter blow to the Pisans, who deposited the corpse of their Emperor in the church of Suvereto until a suitable tomb had been prepared, and two years afterwards it was borne to Pisa followed by 3000 citizens in deep mourning.

The Pisans then offered the lordship of their city to the Count of Savoy and to Henry of Flanders; who both refused. They then appealed to Uguccione della Faggiuola, who had been the Emperor's Vicar at Genoa. A brave man and a good soldier, he was so tall and strong that his armour would have overweighted any ordinary man. According to Troya and

[1] Giovanni Sforza thinks that Dante went to Pisa with Henry VII., and there remained during the siege of Florence, and that the XIV. Canto of Purgatory and part of *De Monarchia*, which he intended to dedicate to the Emperor, were written in Pisa. *Dante e i Pisani. Studi Storici*, Gio. Sforza,

others it was to him that Dante alluded as the "greyhound" destined to save Italy. The poet knew Uguccione well. He was allied to him by marriage and had received hospitality in his castle of Faggiuola.[1] Uguccione at once proclaimed war against Lucca, which was popular on account of the insulting words written by Dati under big mirrors he hung round the tower of Asciano, to show the Pisans what a strong place they had lost: "Oh women of Pisa, use these to look at yourselves." Buonconti, a fiery Pisan, suggested that two large mirrors should be hung on tall poles outside Lucca to prove that the ladies of Pisa did not lack mirrors. So the Pisan army marched to the very gates of Lucca, set up poles with mirrors hanging from them and wrote underneath in large letters: "Take these Bonturo Dati, who insulted us by saying our women had no mirrors. We send them to thee out of courtesy in order that thou mayst see thyself." Arrows were also shot into the town, with the inscription: "For thee Bonturo Dati who said the Pisan women had no mirrors." On their return the Pisans seized cattle, and took banners from several villages which they hung upside down in the cathedral of Pisa to commemorate the successful raid.

Uguccione consented to make peace with Lucca on condition that Viareggio, Asciano, Ripafratta and other castles, should be surrendered to Pisa, and that the Lucchesi ghibellines should be reinstated in all their possessions. As this was not done he again attacked the city, and for eight days Lucca was given up to the tender mercies of Uguccione's German mercenaries and her Pisan foes. The Florentines, who had delayed sending help to Lucca, now awoke to the danger that threatened the Tuscan guelphs.

[1] *Del Veltro Allegorico dei Ghibellini.* Troya. Napoli. MDCCCLVI.

They still held Montecatini, and sent in all haste to engage Prince Philip of Taranto to come to their aid, besides summoning their friends from Bologna, Siena, Gubbio, Volterra and other guelph cities. Uguccione was encamped in the Val di Nievole with his Pisans and his Germans, the warlike Bishop of Arezzo, the Count of Santafiore, and the ghibellines of Tuscany, among whom were the Florentine exiles. For several days, writes Villani, "the enemies stood facing each other, divided by the streamlet Nievole. The Florentines, with many captains and small discipline, despised their enemies: Uguccione and his people with great fear kept good guard and perfect order." The consequence was that the guelphs were utterly routed, and that Uguccione became more powerful than before. But alarmed at the position Castruccio Castracane was attaining in Lucca, he sent orders to his son Neri, captain of the city, to kill him. Neri, knowing how popular Castruccio was, hesitated, and told his father to come to Lucca and superintend the execution himself. No sooner had Uguccione left Pisa than an ox was turned loose. Several men rushed after it shouting, "The ox! the ox!" but as soon as a sufficient crowd had been attracted, the cry was changed to "Liberty! liberty! Long live the People! Death to the tyrant!" A rush was made for the Uguccione palace in Via S. Maria; it was sacked and all his family were killed. The mob then attacked the palace of the Elders. Fighting continued for two hours, until Marino di Caprona, captain of Uguccione's cavalry, rode up with three hundred horsemen. After consulting with some of the nobles he was persuaded not to plunge the city into civil war; Tronci writes that, "knowing the cruel nature of Uguccione, he bade the troopers halt. The people, no longer afraid, then forced the doors of the palace, and the troopers swore

fealty to the Elders, who took steps for defending the city." News of the rising in Pisa reached Lucca before Uguccione, and the Lucchesi expelled his son Neri, liberated Castruccio from prison, and proclaimed him Lord of Lucca. At the same time the Pisans elected Count Gaddo, son of the munificent Bonifazio della Gherardesca il vecchio, Captain of the People, and Francesco della Mirandola, Podestà.

Gaddo della Gherardesca was deservedly popular. He made an honourable peace with King Robert of Naples, with Florence, and with the other guelph Tuscan cities, reformed abuses and instilled fresh vigour into the magistrature; under his wise rule Pisa began to breathe again and to recover some of her ancient prosperity. But in 1320 he died, and his uncle Nieri, who was suspected of having poisoned him, became Lord of Pisa. All was now changed. He secretly aided the Genoese exiles against their own city and against Florence, and the partisans of Uguccione della Faggiuola were recalled and reinstated in their positions as Elders and magistrates. In 1323 an attempt was made by Castruccio to assassinate Count Nieri Gherardesca and his son; but although Nieri was unpopular, the Pisans hated Castruccio more, and rallied round Gherardesca. In the same year the Judge of Arborea in Sardinia rebelled against Pisa in favour of the King of Aragon, who laid claim to the island in virtue of a decree of Boniface VIII., and after three years of fighting the Pisans were forced to cede Sardinia to the King. Discontent was rife in Pisa. In Corsica all had been lost save the bare title of ecclesiastical supremacy, and in the Levant, Pisan power had dwindled to nothing. Discord between the guelphs and the ghibellines became more accentuated with the arrival of Louis of Bavaria in Milan. The Florentine and other exiles

and some of the *popolo* of Pisa made a demonstration in favour of Louis against Pope John XXII. and King Robert, so the Podestà expelled the exiles and banished many Pisans. Meanwhile Louis issued a proclamation declaring John XXII. to be a heretic and unworthy of wearing the tiara, and proclaimed Pietro da Corvara, a minor Franciscan monk of the most zealous type, Pope, as Nicholas V. On May 30, 1327, Louis was crowned at Milan as King of Italy.

Castruccio met the Bavarian, as the old chroniclers always call Louis, at Pontremoli, on his way to Pisa. But the Pisans shut their gates and refused to acknowledge an Emperor who had been excommunicated by the rightful Pope, or to allow his ambassadors to enter the city. They, however, offered a subsidy of 60,000 golden florins, on condition that he withdrew from their territory. A siege then began which lasted two months. Castruccio was on the right bank of the Arno, Louis on the left, and the blockade was completed by a wooden bridge upstream and a bridge of boats below the city. At length, in spite of the warlike counsels of the Archbishop and the Elders, Pisa capitulated on October 8, 1327, on honourable terms. She was to pay the 60,000 golden florins she had offered before, to preserve her laws and institutions, and Castruccio and the exiled Pisans were forbidden to enter the city. Louis and his wife made their entry without much ceremony on October 11, and three days later the Pisans, partly to curry favour with Louis, partly from fear, burnt the treaty of capitulation, and agreed to receive Castruccio and the exiles. Feeling himself now absolute master, Louis demanded another 60,000 florins for the expenses of his journey to Rome, and in a few days 100,000 more for the pay of his troops. But first he accompanied Castruccio to Lucca, where he created him Duke of Lucca,

Pistoja, Volterra and the Lunigiana, and his Vicar at Pisa. On December 15 he left for Rome, and Castruccio reluctantly followed him. Then the Florentine guelphs saw their opportunity; they took Pistoja and drove Castruccio's men back to Serravalle, who at once recalled their master from Rome. On reaching Pisa he assumed the position of absolute ruler, appropriated the revenues, and imposed heavy taxes upon the city. In their distress the Pisans sent a large sum of money to Louis, requesting that he would bestow their city on his wife. He consented, and the Empress despatched Count Oettingen as her Vicar. Castruccio received him politely, but two days later summoned some of his trusty Lucchesi, imprisoned several of the principal citizens, and was acclaimed Lord of Pisa for two years by the people. He then started to retake Pistoja, which capitulated on August 3. The heat and the fatigue he had undergone, however, cost him his life. He died of fever at Lucca on September 3, 1328, at the age of forty-seven.

When the Emperor heard that Castruccio was dead, and that his sons had been to Pisa and forced the Podestà to acknowledge them, he returned, and was "greeted," says an old chronicler, "with great joy by the Pisans, who were thus delivered from the Lucchesi. They roused his anger against the sons of Castruccio by telling him that they were in treaty to sell Pisa to the Florentines, so when the Duchess Pina, Castruccio's widow, came to implore the Emperor to take her sons under his protection, he answered that he would examine into the state of the city of Lucca and the wishes of the inhabitants." Finding a strong party hostile to the Castruccio family the Emperor deposed them, and appointed one of his barons governor of Lucca. Then after exacting 150,000 florins he returned to Pisa, where, according

to Villani, "on December 13, the Bavarian, who called himself Emperor, summoned all his barons and the chief men of Pisa, both laymen and clerics, who were of his party, to a parliament. The friar Michelino of Cesena, who had been General of the Franciscans, spoke against Pope John XXII., and the Bavarian, with the air of an Emperor, pronounced his deposition. About the same time John XXII. held a consistory in Avignon, denounced the Bavarian as a heretic and a persecutor of the Holy Church, and declared his deposition. In January the anti-Pope Pietro da Corvara entered Pisa, gave plenary absolution to all who agreed that John was a heretic and unworthy to bear the title of Pope, and confirmed the sentence given against him by the Emperor."

1329 was a miserable year for the Pisans. They were excommunicated by the rightful Pope, ruined by incessant demands for money by Louis, and their territory was harried by Baltrame del Balzo, King Robert's captain, against whom Louis refused to send his troops unless they were paid, "which was accounted a most vile thing." Joy was universal when in April the Emperor left for Lombardy. As soon as the Pisans heard that he was not returning to Tuscany, they begged young Count Bonifazio della Gherardesca novello, commonly called Fazio, to become their leader, and to drive out the Emperor's Vicar and his German hirelings. Count Fazio at once made an arrangement with his friend Marco Visconti to come to his aid. One Saturday the Pisans rose in revolt, cut the Ponte alla Spina, set fire to the Ponte Nouvo, which was built of wood, and barricaded the Ponte Vecchio so that the Emperor's men could not cross to the quarter of Chinzica, where Fazio and Visconti were. The Vicar, seeing no chance of re-establishing his authority, left the city with his troops, and Count Fazio became

Lord of Pisa. He sent the anti-Pope for safe custody to one of his castles in the Maremma, and despatched ambassadors to John XXII. Peace was then made between him and the Pisans. The anti-Pope was sent to Avignon, the rightful Archbishop of Pisa was reinstated, and the Emperor's nominee, the warlike Bishop Gherardo of Aleria, was disposed. Louis at once created him leader of the exiles of Pisa, Genoa and Parma, and they seized castles belonging to Pisa and did much damage. Their friends in the city tried to provoke a rebellion against Count Fazio, but the Pisans loved him too well, and the mal-contents were expelled. Fazio must have been a remarkable man. As soon as peace was established he proposed to the Senate and the Elders to found a university. Ambassadors were sent to Pope Benedict to ask permission to levy a tax of a tenth on the clergy for endowing it. The request was indignantly refused; nevertheless, the university was opened early in 1340. In December of the same year Fazio died, universally mourned by the Pisans, who, out of love for him, elected his eleven year old son Ranieri in his place, with his father's trusted friend, Fenuccio della Rocca, as his tutor and adviser.

For years the Florentines had cast longing eyes on Lucca. Early in 1341 Mastino della Scala began bargaining with them about the sale, and to clench matters he offered Lucca to the Pisans. They declined to buy, but suggested that they would lend money to the Lucchesi in order that they might purchase their own freedom. This did not suit Mastino, who, after hard bargaining, got 250,000 florins from the Florentines for what had cost him but a few years before 36,000. The Florentines, who had signed a convention with the Pisans that they would never attempt to subjugate Lucca, sent ambassadors to Pisa

to demand certain privileges which they knew would not be conceded, threatening vengeance in case of a refusal. The Prior of the Elders addressed the hastily summoned council as follows: "Magnificent lords and honoured citizens, we have met because Messer Mastino has sold Lucca to the Florentines, and now they go about saying 'Messer Mastino has sold to us Lucca, and has given to us Pisa.' So now it is for you to advise what is to be done. They say that when Pisa is theirs, three of the four quarters of the city are to be destroyed. The fourth, which is Chinzica, they will spare and call Firenzuola. Say, therefore, what is to be done?" One of the council spoke strongly in favour of peace with so powerful a neighbour, but Giovanni Vernagalli rose and said: "Illustrious citizens, we are here to promote the welfare and the greatness of our city and of ourselves. With all due deference to those who, speaking before me, said that the Florentines are powerful, which is true, that the sale of Lucca is no concern of ours, and that we ought not to think of going to war, I answer that the Florentines say 'we have bought Lucca and Pisa has been given to us,' and they threatened us, as you know. My advice is that we accept war courageously, sacrificing our substance, and, if need be, our women and our children. Let us at once lay siege to Lucca, God will aid us, for right is on our side. Perchance He will cast down their pride as a punishment for the thousand subterfuges with which they have cheated us." Vernagalli's glowing oratory turned the scale. War was declared, many citizens subscribed large sums of money, and in July the Pisans seized Ceruglio, Porcari, and the country round about. A few days later they invested Lucca. Known as good paymasters their army was reinforced by 1000 cavalry sent by Visconti,

Lord of Milan, whilst Mantua, Reggio, Parma, Padua and Genoa, also sent contingents, and many ghibellines from the Romagna flocked to their standard. The Florentine army, chiefly consisting of Tuscan guelphs, was commanded by Maffeo da Ponte Caradi of Brescia, whom Villani calls a valiant soldier but not a good leader. Many were the skirmishes before the two armies met in October when the Florentines were beaten with the loss of 300 killed and 1000 prisoners. But the Pisans did not succeed in taking Lucca, and for nine weary months they were encamped round the city. As no help came from Florence, Lucca capitulated on July 6, 1342, and a courier was at once despatched to bid Pisa rejoice. A peace was signed which lasted nearly fourteen years. Among the prisoners exchanged was Giovanni Visconti, brother to the Lord of Milan. Welcomed by the Pisans with great festivities, and given handsome presents, he ill repaid their liberality by plotting with the Lanfranchi, Gætani and others, to depose Ranieri della Gherardesca and seize the lordship of Pisa, whilst Castruccio's sons were to occupy Lucca. The plot was, however, discovered, Giovanni Visconti fled, and the Pisan ring-leaders were beheaded. Lucchino Visconti took his brother's part, and together with Castruccio's sons entered the Pisan territory. For months fighting continued without either side gaining any decided advantage, until at last the great ghibelline, Filippo Gonzaga, made peace between them.

CHAPTER IV

The Fall of Pisa

1348 was a sad year for Pisa. Young Count Ranieri died after eating a dish of cherries and drinking wine; according to the Lucchese chronicler Sercambi, "he ate and he drank what the Pisans are wont to give, that is poison." Civil war then broke out between the Bergolini,[1] as the poor youth's friends called themselves from the nickname Bergo which had been given to him, and the opposite faction of the Raspanti.[2] They fought whenever they met in the streets and set fire to each others houses, until on Christmas eve the Bergolini got the upper hand and Messer Andrea Gambacorti and his friends became practically masters of Pisa. Civil war had been bad enough, but a far greater disaster was the plague. "No man would speak to another," writes an old chronicler, "the father abandoned his son, the son his father, the brother his brother and the wife would not even look at her husband. So many died that few were left to bury them. Whoso touched money or clothes belonging to the dead died. In former times those who fell ill lingered two or three days, but this plague was so malignant that a man went to bed well and was dead ere the sun rose. Many died whilst talking, and the dead were so hideous that

[1] From bergolare, to be loquacious, or a facile speaker. Bagolare, or bagola, is still used in Lombardy for chattering.

[2] From raspare, to scratch, meaning that they scraped together money.

people were afraid to look on them. All the shops were shut, nothing was done in the city save bury the dead, for each day there were from two to five hundred deaths. The plague lasted from January to September and more than seventy per cent. of the inhabitants died." The Emperor Charles IV. came to Pisa early in 1355 and was welcomed as though he were a saint. It was reported that he fasted three times a week, heard mass daily, and by way of penance seldom slept in a bed. He commanded that the Bergolini and the Raspanti were to make peace and to swear fealty to him as their liege lord, and knighted two of Castruccio's nephews who belonged to the latter faction. Charles evidently delighted in splendid ceremonies. He determined to follow in the footsteps of the old Roman Emperors and to crown a poet. On May 15, 1355, clad in his imperial robes he led Zanobi da Strada, son of Boccaccio's master, into the midst of a great assembly on the Piazza del Duomo and crowned him with bays. Resplendent in his crown, and accompanied by the chief dignitaries of the Empire, Zanobi rode about Pisa amid the acclamations of a vast multitude of people. Boccaccio refused to recognise these Pisan laurels as legitimate, and Petrarch regarded them as an insult to the man loved by the Ausonian muses.

When Charles left for Rome dissensions again broke out in Pisa, so when he returned he summoned the chief men of the city and angrily ordered that discord should cease. That night fire broke out in the Palace of the Elders where he was with the Empress. Charles then took up his abode in the Canonry adjoining the cathedral, sent for seven of the principal citizens of the Bergolini faction, and ordered them to be beheaded before him on the Piazza. He had been for some time secretly treating with the Lucchesi, who offered him 120,000 florins to be freed from the supremacy of

Pisa. The arrival of the Pisan garrison from Lucca, which had been replaced by the Emperor's troops, caused the Bergolini and the Raspanti to forget their quarrels and unite in attacking the Germans. One hundred and fifty were killed, and the cry "down with the Emperor who is taking Lucca from us," resounded through the streets. Charles was preparing for flight when Count Paffetta and Ludovico della Rocca, leaders of the Raspanti, hoping eventually to obtain ascendancy in their city, came to him and said: "Fear not, the cry is 'long live the Emperor, death to the traitors Gambacorti.'" Placing themselves at the head of the German soldiery they attacked the palaces of the Gambacorti in the Chinzica quarter, took many of them prisoners, and dispersed their followers. The prisoners were examined on the rack and Matteo Villani writes: "Seeing that death was certain, in order to be no more tortured they confessed that they had intended to kill the Emperor and his people. Thus the unfortunate Gambacorti, who for long had governed Pisa so well and honoured the Emperor, were led in their shirts, bound with ropes of straw and with cords as boys would bind and drag along the vilest thieves, to the Piazza degl' Anziani. There, in the mud and filth of the Piazza and of the blood of one another, they were beheaded. The poor corpses all bespattered with blood lay for three days, by command of the Emperor, on the Piazza."

Not feeling himself safe in Pisa, where lamentations for the murdered citizens and curses against the Germans were beginning to be loud, Charles left at the end of May for Pietrasanta on his way to Germany. Matteo Villani tells us "he stayed in the fortress with the Empress, and every evening he locked the gates with his own hands and kept the keys in his room, which was in the round tower."

To recoup some of the money extorted by Charles, the Pisans broke faith with the Florentines and imposed a tax on all merchandise passing through the city or through Porto Pisano, on the pretext that they were obliged to keep two armed galleys outside the harbour to guard against corsairs. The Florentines warned their subjects to clear their merchandise out of Pisa, and then made a treaty with Siena to pay 7000 golden florins a year for ten years for the use of the port of Talamone, and for permission to enter the city of Siena with their merchandise without paying duty. "This time," observes Matteo Villani, "the Pisans, who were cleverer and more cunning than other Tuscans, were caught in their own net. For when the Florentines used the harbour of Talamone and frequented Siena, the merchants from other parts of Italy did the same, and abandoned Pisa. So the city was emptied of merchandise, the houses were emptied of inhabitants, the shops of goods, and the inns of merchants and travellers. There was no traffic on the roads and there were no ships in the port. Then the Pisans perceived that their city had become a solitary castle, and their anger rose against those who governed them."[1] Knowing how costly and inconvenient the new port of Talamone was for Florence, the Pisans thought to get back the lost trade by abolishing the tax and offering new facilities. But not a bale of merchandise came near Pisa. They then sent out galleys to intercept the merchant vessels and force them to go to Porto Pisano, whereupon Florence hired galleys from Provence and from Naples, and even captured a Pisan ship and forced her to to disembark her cargo at Talamone. For five years desultory fighting continued between the two Republics on sea and on land, until in 1362 open war was declared. The Florentine admiral took the isle

[1] *Cronica.* Matteo Villani, l. chap. lxi.

of Giglio and then attacked Porto Pisano, destroyed the towers, and broke the chain which closed the entrance to the harbour. The chain was sent as a trophy to Florence, dragged about the streets as a mark of ignominy, and four pieces were suspended to the prophyry columns outside the Baptistery, which had been given by the Pisans to Florence in 1117.[1]

Pisa sent to engage the famous White Company commanded by a German, Albert Sterz, but before their arrival Piero Farnese, the Florentine general, attacked the Pisans. As there were few foreign mercenaries in either army, the fight was furious, and many men were killed on either side. The Pisans were beaten, and their general was taken with many other prisoners to Florence in triumph. Farnese then advanced on Pisa, and the Podestà called the inhabitants to arm and fight. "not for Talamone, but for the walls of Pisa." Again the Florentines were victorious, and as usual money was coined at the very gates of the city. On the silver pieces was figured a fox, emblem of Pisa, lying on his back beneath the feet of the Florentine S. Giovanni, who held a piece of the chain of Porto Pisano in one hand. The plague now came to the aid of the Pisans. The Florentine army was decimated; Piero Farnese died of it on June 19, 1363, and was succeeded by his slow and incapable brother, Rinuccio, as general of the Florentine troops. He was utterly beaten, taken prisoner at Ancisa by the Pisans together with 1000 horses and large droves of cattle, while castles and villages were burnt within a short distance of Florence.

[1] The chain was restored to Pisa in 1848 with great ceremony, and now hangs on the western wall of the Campo Santo. Other accounts say the Genoese gave a piece of the chain to the Florentines.

In January 1364 Sir John Hawkwood, who, according to Ammirato, thought little of the Florentines and less of bad weather, entered the service of Pisa. At Monte Morello, Montughi and Fiesole, he destroyed villages and villas, stormed the barricades erected by the Florentines outside the Porta S. Gallo and took many prisoners: then, after burning the house of S. Antonino and others near by, he and his troops returned to their camps at Montughi and at Fiesole. "During the night," writes Matteo Villani, "they held high festival and several of the leaders were knighted. Companies of twenty-five or a hundred danced with torches in their hands which they threw to one another when they met. There were more than two thousand of these torches and the bearers holloaed and shouted, those who were near the walls using insulting words against the Commune of Florence, which were heard by the men on guard. In order still more to flout the Florentines they sent a trumpeter and a drummer outside the Porta alla Croce, who suddenly sounded an alarm, and the people of Florence, roused by the noise, rushed about the streets screaming that the enemy was storming the walls." Hawkwood returned to Pisa laden with booty and was received with great rejoicing. But the day of reckoning was not far off. Henry de Montforte, in command of the Florentine army, and a strong body of troops led by Lanfranchi, chief of the Pisan exiles, encamped on the river Era, an affluent of the Arno, on the evening of May 21, 1364. Next day, passing near Pisa, they were at S. Pietro in Grado burning villages and villas. Just as the Florentines were preparing for battle, a troop of 1400 cavalry arrived in Pisa from Lombardy. Not feeling himself strong enough Montforte crossed the Arno, destroyed the bridge behind him, and seized Porto Pisano. From

thence he marched on Leghorn, but found it deserted, as the inhabitants, warned of his approach, had taken refuge on vessels out at sea. He burned the town and left in hot haste for Florence.

In July a far more numerous army, commanded by a new captain, Galeotto Malatesta, left Florence. The Pisans were completely beaten near Cascina with the loss of 1000 dead and 2000 prisoners, and the Florentines pursued them up to the very walls of Pisa. One of the tame eagles escaped from the city, for as the Romans and the Sienese kept tame wolves and the Florentines lions the Pisans kept eagles, and flew into the Florentine camp, where it was killed amid great rejoicing, writes an old chronicler, and the besiegers, dragging the dead eagle in the dust, returned to Florence in triumph with their prisoners, whom they treated in most ignominous fashion. The Pope now came forward as mediator, and while the treaty was being discussed at Pescia, an astute, low-born Pisan of the Raspanti party, Giovanni dell' Agnello, was sent to Bernabo Visconti to negotiate a loan. He succeeded in his mission, and on his return constrained his fellow-citizens to make him Doge of his native city, and consequently also of Lucca, for a year. Matteo Villani exclaims: "Never was a ruler more odious and more overbearing. When he rode out he bore a golden staff in his hand and wore magnificent clothes. When he returned to the palace he placed himself, as though he were a relic, at the window to be seen of the people, swathed in cloth of gold, leaning his elbows on cushions covered with cloth of gold; he allowed, and even insisted, that all who addressed him should kneel as to a pope or to an emperor." Sercambi even accuses him of murdering his wife, "because she was not of sufficient rank for his present magnificence. Be that as it may, she died, and being without a wife

he determined to find one of good family, and chose Madonna Tradita, sister to the Prefect of Vico. Not to go into too much detail, it is only necessary to say that he took the said lady without any dower, she giving up all to her brother. She was handsome, tall, and most virtuous, and came to Pisa with an honourable following. There were great rejoicing, as is usual; and then Giovanni commanded that the Commune should give to the bride 20,000 golden florins as a mark of their joy, which was done. . . . We will say no more of this lady, because she was so unhappy with such a husband that she did not remain a year with him."

Peace was proclaimed between the two Republics on August 30, 1365. On Pisa the conditions were hard. The castle of Pietrabuona, once belonging to Lucca, was to be ceded to Florence, others were razed: all the privileges and franchises once enjoyed by the Florentines were to be restored, and 100,000 golden florins were to be paid out of the revenues of Lucca in ten years. The Florentines on their side engaged to give back the prisoners and the Pisan towns and castles they had taken. Agnello, having driven the Gambacorti and other Bergolini out of the city, summoned the Great Council and was proclaimed Doge of Pisa for life. The announcement that Urban V. intended to leave Avignon for Rome, and that the Emperor Charles IV. was returning to Italy, fell like a thunderbolt on Agnello who had made a secret alliance with Visconti, the sworn enemy of the Emperor. Nevertheless he went to Leghorn, escorted by Sir John Hawkwood and 1000 cavalry to receive the Pope, who refused to land when he saw so strong an armed force. The Doge returned crestfallen to Pisa, knowing, as a Pisan chronicler remarks, that the Pope and the Emperor were as one man. A few

days later (June 1368) the King of Cyprus arrived in Pisa, thinking to meet the Pope, and Agnello's pride was great at being treated like a brother sovereign by a king, however small.

Visconti made peace with Charles IV., and Agnello, in dismay, sent ambassadors to Milan offering to cede Lucca to the Emperor, and to pay a large sum to be confirmed Doge of Pisa. On September 4, Charles and the Empress arrived in Lucca, and were greeted with delirious joy by the inhabitants, who hated the Pisans more than they hated the devil. Agnello, after receiving the Emperor at the gate of the city, went, says Sercambi, "to S. Michele and stepped out on the portico of the cloisters to read a letter Antonio da Ghivizzano had brought from Pisa. So many of his friends and followers crowded round him that the beams of the portico broke, and thus the said Messer Giovanni dell' Agnello broke his thigh, Messer Gherardo, his nephew, was much hurt, Messer Upezzinghi broke his leg, and many others received grievous wounds. When this was known in Lucca the people exclaimed: 'Now thou hast got the bells of S. Michele which thou wouldst have sent to Pisa: God and S. Michele have performed a miracle.' Tommaso di Conte Aiutamichristo of Pisa heard the news, and ran to the Piazza S. Michele. There he drew his sword, and kissing the hilt, mounted in all haste and rode to Pisa to concert with the Raspanti to kill and undo all of the house of the said Messer Giovanni." Shouts of joy echoed through Pisa. "Long life the Emperor. May the Doge die." New Elders were appointed, who took up their residence once more in the Palace which Agnello had taken for his own abode, and on October 3 the Emperor entered Pisa in state.

Before he left for Rome he presided at a council

in the cathedral and demanded money. Bishop Markwald was appointed governor of the city with 500 mercenaries, who behaved as though they were in an enemy's country. In addition Bergolini and Raspanti fought, so the Pisans began to regret the exiled Gambacorti. The city was in such a disturbed condition that the Emperor, passing Pisa by, went to Lucca on his return from Rome, and being as usual in need of money, accepted 10,000 florins offered by Piero Gambacorti to be reinstated in his father's Pisan possessions. Sercambi writes: "Many Pisans came to Lucca saying, 'Messer Piero, mount your horse, for the people of Lucca await you with joy.' But he, knowing well the deceitfulness of the Pisans, as he stood by his horse looked at Simone di S. Casciano who was there and said, 'Messer Simone, what will happen to us?' The reply was, Good. And a second time he said, 'Messer Simone, what will happen to us?' again the answer was, Good. Then, having put one foot in the stirrup, almost as though afeard, he withdrew his foot and again said, 'Messer Simone, what will happen to us?' and again the reply was, Good. Then the said Messer Piero drew his sword half out of the scabbard, kissed the Cross, and signing himself mounted his horse and rode to Pisa, where he was received with great honours alike by great and small." He dismounted at the church of S. Michele di Borgo and swore on the high altar to be faithful to the Pisan people and to the Emperor, not to excite party passions, or to encourage tumults. Four days later twelve elders were elected—all Bergolini—houses belonging to the Raspanti were pillaged and burnt, and many of them fled to Lucca to appeal to the Emperor. He despatched troops, but the citizens armed, and in a sanguinary conflict worsted

the imperialists. Charles then sent a strong body of Germans, who laid the country waste, and arrived at the gates of Pisa laden with booty. Again they were beaten, lost all they had robbed, and returned to Lucca in a sad plight. The Florentines, who had always been friendly to Gambacorti, now came forward as mediators. Pisa paid 50,000 golden florins to Charles and promised to receive him as their sovereign lord whenever he visited the city, while he promised not to change the popular government.

Giovanni dell' Agnello, after his accident at Lucca, had taken refuge in Milan. Visconti hoping to use him as an instrument for his designs on Tuscany, gave him 1000 cavalry, and with these and the exiled Raspanti he entered the Pisan territory and did great damage early in 1369. The League of the Tuscan cities at length drove the invaders back into Lombardy, and Pisa was at peace. Her citizens elected Piero Gambacorti Captain and Defender of the Commune and the People, and an old chronicler writes: "Messer Piero kept open house for eight days. Many citizens, the Consuls of the Guilds, and the Communes of the towns subject to Pisa, gave him presents of money, wax, confectionery, chickens, eggs, and other things. The gifts were so many that it is impossible to enumerate them, and for those eight days Pisa was like a paradise." One of Piero's first acts was to promise the Florentines absolute freedom from all taxes if they would send their merchandise to Porto Pisano; and to facilitate the carriage of goods the road from Florence to Pisa along the Arno by the Gonfolina pass was made.

Pisa now began to recoup some of her ancient importance. Her citizens would have been contented but for the ever-present fear of raids from the wandering bands of condottieri which infested Italy, and for

the terrible outbreak of plague in 1373 which lasted for many months. This was probably the reason for revising the laws of the Guild of Medicine the following year. Tronci gives the constitution as follows:—

"A Prior, who must be a doctor, two councillors, a secretary and a public notary, are to be elected every year. To enter the guild every Pisan doctor is to pay five francs, every foreigner ten, Pisan surgeons two and a half francs, whilst a foreigner is to pay five.

"A doctor is forbidden to take a fee of more than from ten to twenty-five soldi from a patient, according to the respective social position of either.

"To avoid the possibility of fraudulent judgments which doctors might commit, the Prior and his councillors are to put into a *borsa* (ballot bag) the names of those doctors known to them as God-fearing men. Those whose names are drawn from the bag are to fix the consultation fees, and no other doctor may give any opinion or judgment. If they do the Podestà of Pisa shall not accept it.

"The Prior is to admit any properly qualified doctor, whether a Pisan or a foreigner, to the guild. But within a month the candidate must dispute in a public and proper place on a medical question, and read a series of theses. Should he not have taken a degree and yet want to practise, the Prior is to examine him, and, finding him expert and able, can admit him. If not, the Prior is courteously to forbid him to practise. The same rule holds good for the surgeons. Should the candidate accuse any of the guild of being prejudiced, the Podestà of Pisa is to appoint three of the most learned friars of the city, who, together with those doctors of the guild who are unprejudiced, shall examine him, and deeming him able and expert may admit him.

"Medicines being dangerous, a doctor or a surgeon

who is called in for consultation shall not order any medicine or remedy without the consent of the doctor employed in the case.

"If a patient had begun taking medicine from the pharmacy of one doctor, no other doctor called in may send to him medicines from any other pharmacy, without good and sufficient reasons.

"A doctor of great reputation in whom the patient has faith may be called in, even though he does not belong to the guild.

"Finally, the Podestà of Pisa is to see that these present regulations, as well as the ancient ones, shall be observed, and is to give every aid and encouragement to the Prior and to the guild of doctors."

Early in 1376 Pope Gregory sent a Franciscan friar to Pisa to deliver his Brief, excommunicating and cursing the Florentines. He commanded that no Pisan should harbour, aid, or even speak to a Florentine, under pain of excommunication. Gambacorti, who was friendly to Florence, and saw that obedience to the Pope meant the ruin of Pisa, sent ambassadors to Avignon to represent the impossibility of carrying out such orders. But the Pope was immovable, and when he landed to rest at Leghorn in November on his way to Rome, though he accepted the presents offered, he refused to remove the interdict from Pisa. Tronci enumerates the gifts as follows: Fifty calves, two hundred wethers, four hundred capons and as many chickens, quantities of game, eggs, cheese, bread, wine, oil, confectionery, fine wax, corn and oats. Presents were also made to the cardinals and prelates in attendance.

The election of Urban VI. was hailed with joy by the Pisans, as their Archbishop was his nephew, and when he became a cardinal he persuaded the Pope to raise the interdict. For some time Piero Gambacorti,

HOW MESSER JOHANNI DELL' AGNELLO RODE TO LEGHORN TO MEET THE POPE, AND HOW THE POPE REFUSED TO LAND

HOW WAR BEGAN BETWEEN PISA AND LUCCA

who was a real statesman, had been trying to bring about a federation among the Italian princes and the Republic in order to deliver Italy from the curse of the condottieri, to assure the liberty of commerce, and, above all, to arrange misunderstandings between the various states by arbitration instead of by war. The delegates met in Pisa, October 9, 1388, but the fair promise of peace was destroyed by Giovan Galeazzo Visconti. He suborned Gambacorti's trusted secretary, Jacopo d'Appiano, through his son, who was in his service. Old Appiano was implicitly trusted by Piero Gambacorti, and he refused to listen to friends who warned him that Jacopo was a traitor. When Giovanni d'Appiano arrived in Pisa at the head of a company of Lombard cavalry his father threw off the mask, and caused Gambacorti's intimate friend Lanfranchi to be waylaid and killed. The assassins took refuge in Appiano's house, the citizens armed, and Piero Gambacorti sent his son Benedetto to guard the bridge, whilst the other garrisoned the Piazza degl' Anziani. Fighting took place at the bridge, and then Jacopo d'Appiano rode to Piero's house and appealed to him to join in quieting the tumult. The old man came out and was at once struck down, his two sons were murdered, and Jacopo d'Appiano became Lord of Pisa. He turned the Elders out of their palace, in which he installed himself, banished all the adherents of Gambacorti, denounced the treaties with Florence and with Lucca, and raided their territories with the help of mercenaries sent by Giovan Galeazzo Visconti.

Early in 1398 Visconti, desirous of bringing things to a crisis, sent three commissaries to Pisa to demand that the castles of Piombino, Leghorn, Cascina, and the fortress of Pisa should be given over to him. Old Appiano courteously replied that he must first consult

the Elders, and would reply the next day. Then sending for his son Gherardo, he bade him collect the soldiers he could trust at break of day near the Palazzo degl' Anziani. In the morning he invited the Duke's commissaries to come there, but they haughtily replied that if he had anything to say he could go to them. Appiano gave orders to take them prisoners, and after a hard struggle they were lodged in the fortress, where their secretary confessed on the rack that the intention had been to murder Appiano and to seize Pisa. Jacopo despatched a letter to Milan telling the Duke that three rascals, who pretended to come from him, were now in prison at Pisa under the accusation of intending to murder both himself and his son, and that the Florentines hearing this had sent an embassy to offer an alliance with their Republic. For once Visconti had been outwitted. A new treaty was signed between Milan and Pisa, and at the Duke's request the three prisoners were released. When Jacopo d'Appiano died in 1398, his incompetent son Gherardo succumbed to the mingled promises and threats of the Duke of Milan, and sold Pisa to him for 200,000 golden florins. For himself he reserved Piombino, some castles, and the island of Elba. In vain the Pisans entreated to be allowed to buy their city of him at a higher price. He declared that he was bound to Visconti. In February 1399, Lombard troops took possession of Pisa, and the new governor at once busied himself to raise the money his master had to pay to Gherardo d'Appiano. When Giovan Galeazzo died in 1402 he left Pisa to his natural son Gabriello Maria, who was received in sullen silence by the discontented and impoverished citizens. Angry at not being offered the usual presents given to a new lord, he imprisoned many of the Bergolini party, under the pretext that they were conspiring against him.

Some were beheaded, others were heavily fined. So hated was he that one of them actually informed the Florentines of a weak place in the fortifications, and on January 15 their army appeared under the walls of Pisa. But the man repented and warned the Elders, and the Florentines baulked revenged themselves by burning villages and villas.

At that time Genoa was ruled for the King of France by Jean Le Maingre, surnamed Bouciquaut, a soldier of fortune who to maintain his hold on the Genoese had to enter into their political views. The idea that Pisa and Leghorn should become subject to Florence was hateful to them, so in answer to Gabriello Maria Visconti's appeal for help he promised him the protection of France in return for Leghorn and a yearly tribute of a horse and a peregrine falcon. When the Pisans knew that Leghorn had been given up to Bouciquaut and that their city was to be under the protection of France, they rose, seized the Genoese galleys at Leghorn and took their crews prisoners. Visconti fled to Sarzana while his mother took refuge in the citadel at Pisa where, alarmed by the firing of a cannon, she missed her footing and falling from the tower was killed.[1] Her son began to treat with the Florentines, and for 206,000 golden florins engaged to deliver the citadel of Pisa, and the castles of Ripafratta and of S. Maria in Castello into their hands. On September 12, 1405, Gino Capponi took possession of the citadel for the Florentines, and leaving a strong garrison returned to Florence. The Pisans rose as one man, took the citadel, and sent an imperious message to Florence demanding the immediate restitution of Ripafratta and of S. Maria in Castello, the price of

[1] This is Gori Dati's account. Ammirato says she slipped, or was pushed off, a plank, used as a provisional bridge.

which they were prepared to pay at once. S. Antonino tells us that the Florentines had various reasons for desiring to conquer Pisa. Firstly, because they had bought the city: secondly, because they had ever hated the ghibellines and Pisa had always sided with the Emperors, enemies of Florence: lastly, because Porto Pisano was most convenient to them for shipping their merchandise. So the messengers returned with a refusal and the Pisans hastened to garrison and victual their castles, particularly Vico-Pisano which withstood a siege of six months. "It was a great war in all the territory," exclaims a Pisan chronicler, "but still greater in the city, because the Pisans were not united. The Agnello were ghibellines, or Raspanti, while the Gambacorti were guelphs, or Bergolini. At first the ghibellines were all-powerful and the Gambacorti were banished: but at length the Elders insisted that private hatreds should no longer interfere with the defence of the city. Giovanni Gambacorti with all his relations was recalled, and the two factions swore to keep the peace and to work together for the public weal. Not many days passed ere Gambacorti caused his rival to be murdered, and seized the lordship of Pisa. Remembering the old friendship between his house and the Florentine Republic, he begged for permission to send ambassadors to the Signory, hoping to make peace and thus to maintain his position in Pisa." But the Signory refused and Pisa prepared for war. The Florentines blockaded the city by land, and built a fortress on either side of the Arno below Pisa, with a bridge connecting them to prevent ships from bringing grain from Sicily. With famine staring them in the face, the Pisans sent to offer the lordship of their city to King Ladislaus of Naples, who refused it. They then turned to the King of France, who sent an envoy to tell the Florentines to leave his city of Pisa in peace

The Signory replied that they had always been faithful friends of His Majesty's, and that having bought Pisa, which had ever been a trouble and an annoyance to them, they would send ambassadors to France and lay their reasons before him. The envoy declared that his master would be satisfied with this answer and would think no more about Pisa. As a last chance the Pisans appealed to the Duke of Burgundy. His messenger "with arrogant words commanded the Florentines to raise the siege of a city which belonged to him, whereupon they tossed him into the river," but being a good swimmer he escaped.

Since March 1406 the Florentine army had lain before Pisa. In June the commissary, Gino Capponi, ordered an attack, which was repulsed. But the Pisans were starving. They drove out the useless mouths, whereupon the Florentines hung the men, cut the women's clothes off at the waist, branded them on the cheek with the lily of Florence, and drove them back to the gates of the city. Women being still expelled by their starving fellow-citizens, the besiegers cut off their noses.

Giovanni Gambacorti at last determined to treat secretly with Gino Capponi. For himself he obtained excellent conditions, 50,000 florins, the islands of Giglio and Capraja, the citizenship and some houses in Florence with exemption from all taxes for himself and his heirs: the castle and town of Silano for his brother Andrea, and the archbishopric of Florence for his cousin, a bishop. At the same time he stipulated that no murder or thefts should be committed, no insults offered to the citizens of Pisa, and that the Elders should be respected and continue to manage the finances of the city. On October 9, the Florentines entered Pisa. Ammirato says that "few of the citizens knew that the Florentines were masters of the

city. At the windows stood astonished, famine-stricken, thin and pale men and women with sunken eyes and small, drawn faces, looking more like wild animals than human beings. The hunger and misery they had undergone was manifested when the soldiers threw to them bread they had by chance brought with them. Like birds of prey the people seized it, tearing it from one another and devouring it with an avidity that was marvellous to behold. Orders had been given that while the bulk of the army surrounded the city, large quantities of flour and bread should be made ready to enter with the first detachment. The people fell upon it as though their hunger could not be satisfied and would endure for ever, and many died from over-eating. Neri Capponi testifies that the bread eaten by the Elders was made of linseed. It is certain that many lived on grass, which they collected in the streets and dried, making from it a kind of bread. Gino Capponi and Corbinelli went to the palace, and the Elders received them with all humility and asked for their commands. The commissaries told them to go upstairs, and there the keys of the city and the pass-word for the forts were delivered up and the Elders renounced their authority. Then, wishing to place the emblem of Florence at the windows of the palace, the commissaries were reminded of the flag taken from the Florentines three years before, which the Pisans had dragged through the meanest streets of the city and then hung upside down in the cathedral. The commissaries ordered the flag to be brought with great blowing of trumpets to the palace and to be placed with the others in the windows. Such was the end of the empire of Pisa, one of the most noble cities in Tuscany for antiquity, power, and position. In past centuries she had torn Sardinia from the Saracens, and Elba was hers. One may say she was mistress of the

seas on account of the number of galleys and ships she possessed, and beyond the seas she had been most powerful in Acre."[1]

[1] *Istorie Fiorentine*. Scipione Ammirato. Lib. xvii. Gont. 692.

CHAPTER V

Pisa under the Yoke of Florence

FLORENCE was now so strong that she even interfered in religious matters. The rival Popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XII. could not be induced to meet and come to some understanding, so 120 learned theologians sat for three days in Florence, and at length declared Gregory a heretic, a schismatic, and a destroyer of Christianity. The Florentines then decided as Ammirato writes: "that they would no longer trouble their heads about him." On June 5, 1409, both Gregory and Benedict were condemned as heretics and schismatics and deposed by the Council which met at Pisa, and ten days later the cardinals entered into conclave. On June 26, Cardinal Piero da Candia was proclaimed Pope as Alexander V. "The Council," writes Symonds, "effected no reform, and cannot be said to have done much more than to give effect to those aspirations after Church-government by means of Councils, which had been slowly forming during the continuance of the schism."[1]

In 1421 the Florentine Republic bought Leghorn and Porto Pisano from Genoa and determined to become a maritime power, but she never succeeded in rivalling Venice or Genoa on the sea. Officers were

[1] *Renaissance in Italy*, John Addington Symonds, 2nd edition, i. 71.

appointed under the old name of Consuls of the Sea, but they were merely *Officiales Communis Florentie sub appelatione Consulum Maris*. The great *Ordo Maris*, or Guild of the Sea, practically ceased to exist when Pisa fell under the rule of the Duke of Milan and lost all *raison d'etre*, when in 1406, Marshall Boucicquaut, the French governor of Genoa, seized Leghorn and Porto Pisano, and thus shut Pisa off from the sea. Florence was not loved by her new subjects. After the discovery of a plot to deliver the city into the hands of Piccinino, the chief citizens of Pisa were ordered to live in Florence under police supervision, and many fled to Sardinia, Sicily, Tunis and Egypt. Repetti quotes a letter from the *Dieci di Balia* to their Captain at Pisa, which shows how ferocious was the hatred of the Florentines. "Here we are agreed that the most efficacious way of assuring the safety of Pisa is to clear her of her citizens. We are tired of writing to the Captain of the People, he replies that the Captain at Arms does not favour such a measure. So now we desire you to arrange with him, and to use every cruelty and severity in executing our orders. We trust to you to see quickly to this; nothing more pleasing to our people can be done."[1] Forty years after Pisa had fallen under the yoke of Florence the city was almost depopulated, her fields were abandoned to marsh fever, her industries were killed, her arts and her sciences were crushed out. "Therefore," writes Symonds, "when Charles VIII., in 1494, entered Pisa, and Orlandi, the orator, caught him by the royal mantle, and besought him to restore her liberty, that word, the only word the crowd could catch in his petition, inflamed a nation: the lions and the lilies of Florence were erased from the public buildings; the Marzocco was dashed from its column on

[1] *Dizionario della Toscana*, E. Repetti, iii. 346.

the quay into the Arno; and in a moment the dead republic awoke to life."[1]

The only warning voice raised against this attempt made by Pisa to regain her lost liberty was that of the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincola (afterwards Julius II.). He pointed out to the Pisans that the French were not likely to remain in Italy; that no foreign prince would take up arms in their cause unless he intended to become their master; and that in a war with Florence they would inevitably be beaten.

When Charles VIII. returned from Naples (1495) the Florentines called upon him to fulfil the compact by which the fortresses of Sarzana, Pietrasanta, Leghorn and Pisa, were to be restored to them. But his councillors reminded him that the possession of Pisa and Leghorn would make him master of the whole seaboard from Marseilles to Naples. Guicciardini tells us that he was even more influenced by the tears and supplications of the Pisans, "who with their women and little children prostrated themselves at his feet. With great lamentations and many tears they implored everyone about the court, down to the common soldiers, to save them from such a calamity. Many of the soldiers, particularly the Swiss archers, went to the King, and Salazart, one of his pensioners, spoke in their names. He prayed that for the glory of the crown of France and the satisfaction of his numerous servants, who were ready to lay down their lives for him and whose advice was more disinterested than that of men corrupted by Florentine gold, he would not deprive the Pisans of the liberty he had bestowed upon them." Ever irresolute and weak, the King again promised freedom to the Pisans, but a few weeks later at Asti he signed a decree granting the citadel of Pisa to the Florentines in return for a large subsidy.

[1] *Renaissance in Italy*, *op. cit.* i. 269.

The commandant, however, disredarded the orders of Charles and gave up the citadel to the Pisans on receipt of 12,000 ducats for himself and 8,000 for the garrison. Most of the money was contributed by the Duke of Milan, the Venetians and the Genoese, all of whom had ulterior designs upon Pisa. But when they quarrelled among themselves the unhappy city was left to her fate. She stood three sieges, during one of which (1503) the Florentines attempted to divert the course of the Arno by digging two large canals near Fasiano, four miles above Pisa. Leonardo da Vinci, "the engineer," visited the works, when a huge dam, on which 8,000 men were employed, was washed away by a flood and the idea was abandoned. A bridge of boats was then thrown across the Arno above, and fortified entrenched camps were made at the mouths of the Arno, the Serchio and the Fiume-Morto, below Pisa. Hunger forced the Pisans to capitulate, and on June 8, 1509, the Florentines entered the city, and the story of the ancient republic of Pisa merges into that of Florence.

. . . . . .

Two years after Pisa had fallen under the dominion of Florence, she was selected as the seat of another Council under French and Spanish sanction and support, which Pope Julius II. declared to be illegal and schismatic, and he excommunicated Florence and consequently also Pisa.

With the accession of Duke Cosimo I. de Medici, Pisa awoke to new life. From his ancestors he had inherited a love of letters and of science, and his political insight was of no common order. The extinct University of Pisa was reconstituted in 1574 on the plan of those of Padua and Pavia, and endowed with a fixed income. The Sapienza (the University building) was enlarged, and celebrated professors were

summoned from other seats of learning. Full power was given to the Rector to deal with all questions relating to the University, and the monasteries in Pisa were forbidden to take students. The Duke also founded a chair of botany and a botanical garden, which he enriched with plants from Egypt, the Levant and Sicily. Finding, however, that professors and students declined to live in a half-deserted city (the number of inhabitants had fallen to 8500), and that owing to the choking of the canals for carrying off the stagnant water the climate had become pestilential in summer and autumn, he instituted the Uffizio de' Fossi, or Board of Works for the canals, with ample funds and powers even more extensive than those possessed in former times by the Consuls of the Sea. The incursions of corsairs along the Italian coast next occupied his attention. In 1561 he submitted statutes for a new military Order to the Pope, and in January the following year a Papal Legate invested the Duke with the habit of Grand Master of the Order of S. Stefano.

In October 1562 Cosimo, the Grand Duchess and all their children, save Francesco, the eldest son, who was in Madrid, went on a hunting excursion in the Maremma. Vain were the warnings of Cosimo's doctor that the season was more than usually unhealthy and that marsh fever of a pernicious type was rife. He and his sons were ardent sportsmen. Giovanni, already a Cardinal and Archbishop designate of Pisa, although only nineteen years of age, paid no heed to a slight feverish attack at Rosignano. The following day he rode to Leghorn "gay and seemingly as well as ever." But next morning (Tuesday November 17), he was delirious and on Friday night he died. Duke Cosimo wrote to his eldest son: "This lamb, for so I must call him, is now where I trust God will summon

me when my time comes, no other testimony is needful for this than his life and death. He died in my arms. I wish also to tell thee that thy mother, persuaded by me, is reconciled to the will of God. Don Garzia and Don Ernando have both slight fever but not of a bad type, and I do not think there is any danger. To-morrow we go to Pisa. Sickness is general in Venetia and in Lombardy and many die. God give thee health. From Leghorn, November 20, 1562. Thy loving father, THE DUKE OF FLORENCE."

According to the custom of those days the body was embalmed. It was then carried to Pisa and from thence to Florence, where a solemn funeral service took place in S. Lorenzo. Meanwhile the two other brothers were ill at Pisa. Ferdinando recovered but Garzia died on December 12, aged fourteen. His mother, for whose health (she was consumptive) the court passed the winters at Pisa, nursed him until attacked by fever and violent hæmorrage she broke down, and died five days after her favourite son. A detailed account of the malady and death of Garzia and of the Duchess Eleonora was written by Cosimo to his son in Spain.[1] Contemporary documents, diaries and letters all give this same account of the three deaths. The story that the two brothers quarrelled as to whose dog had killed a hare, that Garzia insulted his elder brother and was struck by him, and that Garzia then stabbed the Cardinal so severely that he died in a few hours, and was then killed himself by one of his brother's attendants, was published in a small newspaper, the *Avviso, seven days before the death of Don Garzia*. Saltini attributes the calumnious tale to the Florentine exiles, who stript

[1] *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il Governo della Casa Medici*. Riguccio Galluzzi, ii. 263-269, MDCCLXXXI Ediz. 2a.

of their patrimony had been reduced to beggary, and were persecuted by Cosimo with relentless severity. Giustiniano simply latinised the account in the newspaper for his history, and another Venetian historian, Natale de' Conti, repeated it. But when about to publish a second edition, his work was sent by a friend to Vincenzio Borghini at Florence in 1577 who answered: "I see he repeats the fable that the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was stabbed by his brother Garzia, and that the latter was killed by one of the Cardinal's attendants. All this he has taken from the *Historia* of Pietro Giustiniano, who, without considering the responsibility attaching to a grave and honest writer, simply copied it out of a newspaper. It is well Conti should know that the whole is a fable. The youth died of fever caught in the Maremma as did his brother and his mother. The present Cardinal Ferdinando was in imminent danger, and several courtiers, as well as a priest I sent to the Duke, died—all of fever." The story was improved upon and spread abroad in a new edition of J. A. de Thou's *Histoire Universelle* published in 1620, called *Thouanus Restitutus*, because Nicolas Rigault and Claude Du Puy added several omitted paragraphs. In it Cosimo was accused of killing Don Garzia in the presence of the Grand Duchess to avenge the murder of Giovanni. Muratori, who could not obtain access to the Medicean archives, used what materials were under his hand and set the stamp of his great authority on the tale. It was only when the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo charged Galluzzi to write the history of the former dynasty, that the jealously guarded archives of the house of Medici saw the light.[1]

[1] For fuller details see *Tragedie Medicee Domestiche*, narrate sui documenti da G. B. Saltini, 112-117. G. Barbèra. Firenze, 1898.

Pisa under the Yoke of Florence

One of the greatest geniuses the world has produced was born in Pisa in 1564—Galileo Galilei. He descended from the Bonajuti, a noble Florentine family, who gave several Gonfaloniers and Priors to their native city. Tommaso Bonajuti changed his name in 1348 to Galilei, and his grandson, christened Galileo, was a celebrated professor of medicine in the University of Florence. The family, however, became impoverished, and Vincenzo (born 1520), father of the great Galileo, was engaged in trade in Pisa, where Galileo, Michelangelo, and four daughters were born. Vincenzo, a good classical scholar, a mathematician, and an excellent musician, wrote several books on the theory of music and played admirably on the viola and the lute. Even as a child Galileo showed a love for mechanical invention, constructing toy machines. From his father he learnt drawing and music, and soon rivalled him as a lute player. At the age of twelve he was sent to the monastery of Vallombrosa to be perfected in the humanities; there he was persuaded to join the novitiate of the Order, whereupon his father, who intended him to be a doctor, recalled him. In 1581, when seventeen years old, he entered the University of Pisa, and immediately attracted attention by his keen intellect and his philosophical writings. But his habit of going to the bottom of things, of declining to accept a statement on the authority of a master, and even daring to call in question the dictates of Aristotle, Plato, S. Thomas Aquinas, and other revered authorities, was most distasteful to the professors. He was nicknamed "The Wrangler," and roused such a spirit of hostility that eventually he had to leave Pisa. Not long after he joined the University he made his first discovery. Seeing the lamp in the cathedral swing after being lit, not having a watch, he timed the oscillations by his pulse, and observed that though they became gradually

less they always took the same time. Various experiments led to the construction of the *pulsologia*. Imperfect as the instrument was, the physicians hailed it with delight. Vincenzo Galilei, who had meanwhile settled in Florence, finding he could no longer maintain his son at the Pisan University, begged Cosimo I. to grant him one of forty free scholarships. But the professors recommended Ferdinando I. to refuse, so Galileo went to Florence and devoted himself to the study of mathematics and physics. In 1586 he constructed the hydrostactic balance, and wrote an essay on the centre of gravity in solid bodies. This gained him the name of the modern Archimedes, and attracted the attention of the mathematician, Marquess Guidobaldo del Monte, who became his fast friend and patron. He recommended Galileo to the Grand Duke and to Don Giovanni de' Medici, and he was appointed professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa in 1589 for three years, at the magnificent salary of about £13 a year. From his chair he denounced the falsehood of many of the statements of Aristotle, amongst others, that if two different weights of the same material were let fall from the same height the heavier one would reach the ground first. Galileo maintained that, with the exception of a very minute difference due to the disproportionate resistance of the air, they would reach the ground at the same time. To demonstrate this he invited the professors and the students to meet him at the Leaning Tower, and balancing a 10-lb. shot and an 11-lb. shot, he let them fall from the top at the same moment. They struck the ground simultaneously. The Aristotelians, however, quoted their master against him, refused to believe the evidence of their senses, and made life almost impossible for Galileo. They would, however, hardly have succeeded in turning him out of the University

PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH, BY AN UNKNOWN FOLLOWER OF THE LORENZETTI, CAMPO SANTO. (See also plate facing page 214)

had Don Giovanni de' Medici not invented a dredging machine, on which Galileo was ordered to report by the Grand Duke. His verdict was unfavourable, and Don Giovanni became his bitter enemy. The *Capitolo in Biasimo della Toga*, a fragment of a burlesque ridiculing the order that the professors were always to wear their gowns, gave great offence; while his severe criticisms on Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, although they agreed with the verdict of the Accademia della Crusca, raised a storm. Galileo dabbled in poetry himself, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* he knew by heart, and was wont to say that there was as great a difference between the two poets as when a man ate a cucumber after a good melon.

In 1592 Galileo was appointed to the chair of mathematics at Padua, and his inaugural discourse on December 28 won him golden opinions. *Exordium erat splendidum*, wrote Tycho Brahe. But Pisa kept up her hostility to the last. Father Castelli, professor of mathematics there in 1613, was forbidden to mention the double motion of the earth in his lectures, and wrote to him: "Your marvellous discoveries are scarcely known here, even by name." The following year a Dominican friar, preaching in S. Maria Novella in Florence, denounced Galileo and all professors of mathematics. "They are of the devil," he exclaimed; "mathematicians, as the authors of all heresies, should be driven out of every State." [1]

Under the Grand Duke Francesco I., who succeeded his father in 1573, Pisa suffered like the rest of Tuscany, but things changed when the Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici came to the throne in 1587. He left the Church, and a marriage was arranged

[1] For a detailed life of the great Pisan, see *Galileo, His Life and Work*, by J. J. Fahie, from which much of the above has been taken. John Murray, London, 1903.

with the handsome young Princess Cristina of Lorraine. Landing at Leghorn she drove to Pisa, where her fame as a horsewoman and a good shot, as a beauty and a pious daughter of the Church, had preceded her. At S. Piero in Grado, 4000 Pisan militia were drawn up, and as her carriage approached they fired a salute. "Seldom has so splendid a one been heard," writes Messer Cervoni of Colle, "and the illustrious bride did not show fear, as women are wont to do, but displayed such pleasure that one could see she had been brought up among soldiers by a valorous queen, as was Caterina of France. They say that when she saw Pisa she exclaimed: This is a beautiful city. Entering with great pomp by the Porta a Mare she received many gentlemen and ladies, who all praised her grace and her beauty." Messer Cervoni himself came to great honour, for he presented her with two sonnets, "which she took with a smile, saying she would read them with pleasure, and then asked me my name, which I told her. Turning to the Duchess di Brausuich (Braunschweig), her aunt, she spoke in their language, and they both laughed in such guise that I saw the homage was pleasing to them."[1]

Ferdinando I. continued his father Cosimo's work at the port of Leghorn, and made a canal from Pisa to Leghorn to avoid the long round by the Bocca d'Arno to the sea. He began the aqueduct which brings water from Asciano, and augmented the botanical garden. In 1593 Pisa was plunged into mourning by the damage done to her beloved Duomo by fire. The splendid pulpit by Niccolò Pisano, and many pictures, bronzes and marbles, were buried under the ruins. The Grand Duke gave large sums from his privy purse and granted permission to quarry marble in the

[1] *Descrizione de le Pompe, e Feste fatte ne la città di Pisa.* M. Giovanni Cervoni da Colle. In Fiorenza, 1589.

islands of Giglio and Elba, and the famous cathedral slowly rose again.

In 1600 Ferdinando I. accompanied his niece Maria de' Medici to Pisa on her way to France. The young girl had already assumed the airs of a queen, and the Grand Duke, proud of the marriage, lavished considerable sums on triumphal arches and illuminations, and on the decoration of the galley which was to bear her to Marseilles. Under him the knights of S. Stefano distinguished themselves. The corsairs of Barbary were beaten, and their chief town, Bona, was captured. Admiral Ingherami became the terror of the Turkish pirates, and Pisa acclaimed the return of many hundreds of liberated Christian galley slaves. On the death of the Grand Duke Cosimo II., in 1621, Tuscany was ruled for a time by two incapable and bigotted women, the Grand Duchesses Cristina and Maria Maddalena, grandmother and mother of the young Grand Duke Ferdinando II. The Pisan plain again became a morass, commerce and agriculture declined, and to crown all the plague broke out. In 1630 the population of Pisa had diminished one third. It was only when the house of Lorraine succeeded to the throne of Tuscany in 1738 that she began to revive. At the close of the eighteenth century the city was alternately occupied by French and by Austrian troops, until Napoleon created the kingdom of Etruria.

It was during a visit of the Queen of Etruria that the famous Giuoco del Ponte was played in Pisa for the last time in May 1807. This Game, or Battle, of the Bridge, was a local development of the ancient Giuoco del Mazzascudo, popular in many Italian towns in the thirteenth century. On the stone bridge, which replaced the old wooden Ponte Vecchio towards the end of the fourteenth century, the citizens of the

northern bank of the Arno contended with those of the southern, aided by the inhabitants of the country districts, until it was swept away by a flood in 1635. The game was then for some years played in a street until the completion of the Ponte del Mezzo enabled them to use a bridge again. Before the battle a pavilion was set up on either side of the river, and a challenge, couched in most magniloquent language, was sent to their adversaries by the side which had been beaten the year before. The benediction of the banners of the North took place with great pomp in the church of S. Niccolò or of S. Michele in Borgo; while those of the South were blessed in S. Martino, S. Lorenzo in Chinzica, or in S. Cristina. In the northern churches they sang the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, in the southern that of S. Caterina of Siena; the saint was regarded as the patron of the game, because the Pisans thought that it was owing to her intercession that no fatal accident happened. On the evening preceding the game the city was gay with waving banners and resounded to the blare of trumpets, while the people sang:—

> Suonin pur le trombe intorno
> Sopra il Ponte si combatta,
> Vinca Borea o Mezzogiorno
> Sempre Pisa vincerà.[1]

The players must have presented rather an unwieldy appearance. Their heads were covered with a *falzata*, or bonnet of quilted cotton, over which was placed an iron helmet with a movable vizor. Under the breast and back pieces, made of iron, was worn a doublet of quilted cloth, the shoulder pieces were either of iron

[1] Let the trumpets sound around us
On the bridge let battle be,
Whether Boreas wins or Zephyr
Victorious aye shall Pisa be.

or of quilted canvass, and hands and arms up to the elbows were encased in padded gauntlets. Round the neck was tied a broad quilted collar which protected the shoulders. Over all this was a silken tunic descending to the knees of the same colour as the banner of the squadron to which the player belonged. His only weapon was the *targone*, made of stout board 31 inches long, in shape like a narrow shield, 9 inches wide at one end and tapering to 4 inches at the other. This was held by means of two straps placed on the inside like those of a shield, one to be grasped by each hand, so that it could be used both to thrust and to parry. It was also held at the narrow end and wielded as a club. These targoni belonged to those who used them and descended from father to son. Many were embellished with mottoes, as can be seen in the Museo Civico, where is also a small model of the bridge with the players.

On the parapet in the centre of the bridge stood a tall flag-staff with the Pisan standard, a white cross on a red ground, which was lowered across the bridge as the players moved into position. When it was raised they rushed at one another, thrusting and smiting with unspeakable fury, writes an eye-witness. The object was to drive the enemy back across the bridge, and sometimes the players were thrown into the river and continued their battle in the water. Time was called after forty-five minutes, when the side which had gained ground was declared the victor. If neither party had lost or gained, the battle was considered drawn and peace was proclaimed. Ballads, sonnets and madrigals, without number have been written about the Giuoco del Ponte, G. B. Guarini, author of *Il Pastor Fido*, sings about—

"Pisa al ferir' invitta, al vincer nata,"

and Alfieri, who was in Pisa in 1895, writes: "I enjoyed the diversion of the Giuoco del Ponte, an extremely beautiful spectacle, which unites in itself a indefinable something of ancient and heroic." A year later he composed a sonnet in honour of the game.[1]

There is little more to say of Pisa. In 1809 she was incorporated in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, first under Napoleon's sister Élise Baciocchi, then under Ferdinando III. and Leopoldo II. In April 1859, she became part of United Italy.

[1] Curious readers who wish to know more about this and other ancient Italian games are referred to a learned and delightful book, from which most of the foregoing account has been taken, *Palio and Ponte*, by W. Heywood. Methuen, & Co., London, 1904.

CHAPTER VI

The Appearance of the City; Walls, Towers, Bridges, and Embankments

"Pisa is a very great city with about 10,000 turreted houses for battle at time of strife. . . . The city is not surrounded by a wall."

—The Itinerary of Benjamin da Tudela, *circa* 1170.

". . . E guardate da . . . gran Torri ch'n tutto'l mondo non si trovan tali."

—Sixteenth century MS.

"Within the surface of the fleeting river
The wrinkled image of the city lay,
Immovably unquiet, and for ever
It trembles, but it never fades away."

—*Evening: Ponte a Mare, Pisa.* Shelley.

PISA, now a sedate and rather plain city, still shows traces of her former greatness. The wide circumference of the walls, the spacious streets and a certain largeness of design, remind us that instead of the mere capital of a province she was planned to be the centre of a powerful Republic.

The city lies in a rich and fertile plain. Marshes have given place to rich cultivation. Corn, vines and pine-trees grow luxuriantly on soil that once was covered with pools of stagnant water which exhaled malaria. The situation is open, and pleasant breezes come from the sea, distant about six and a quarter miles to the west, while the mountains that girdle her in on three sides, the Monti Pisani on the north and

east, the Colline Pisane on the south, ward off the cold winter winds and give to Pisa her reputation as a warm winter residence.

Almost square in form, the city is divided into two irregular portions by the Arno. A Florentine in the fifteenth century compared the beautiful curve of the river to the arch of a crossbow, while to modern eyes it suggests an almost perfect crescent. The Arno is a statelier stream here than at Florence; broad and full, having gathered the waters of many affluents it rushes swiftly through the city, eager for the sea. So strong is the current that from time immemorial it has been necessary to save the Pisan palaces from its fierce embraces by penning it within quays, more than two miles long. The Lung' Arno, finest of Pisan streets, though lacking the picturesque buildings on the Lung' Arno of Florence surpasses it in beauty of line. The prospect is closed to the east by hills, one of them crowned with the ruins of La Verruca, the strongest fortress of the Republic; to the west by the arsenal with its stately tower, the Torre Guelfa, behind which the sea is divined, though invisible to the eye, by the peculiar brilliancy of the sunsets. The many stately palaces adorned with columns of marble that an old Florentine writer of the fifteenth century talks of, have vanished, save one or two, but it can still boast of fine sober structures of the Renaissance, and of that little jewel, the church of S. Maria della Spina, set in its midst right on the very brink of the river. The northern and far larger part of the city is connected with the southern by four bridges; from the central one, the Ponte di Mezzo, the whole curve of the Lung' Arno is seen to perfection.

Of the numerous churches all but a few are small and architecturally plain. S. Paolo a Ripa d' Arno, S. Francesco, S. Caterina and S. Stefano, have open

THE LUNG' ARNO LOOKING WESTWARD

spaces or green lawns in front. The rest are hidden away in the ancient streets, which are wider than in most mediæval cities of Italy, plain but interesting in architecture and singularly silent.

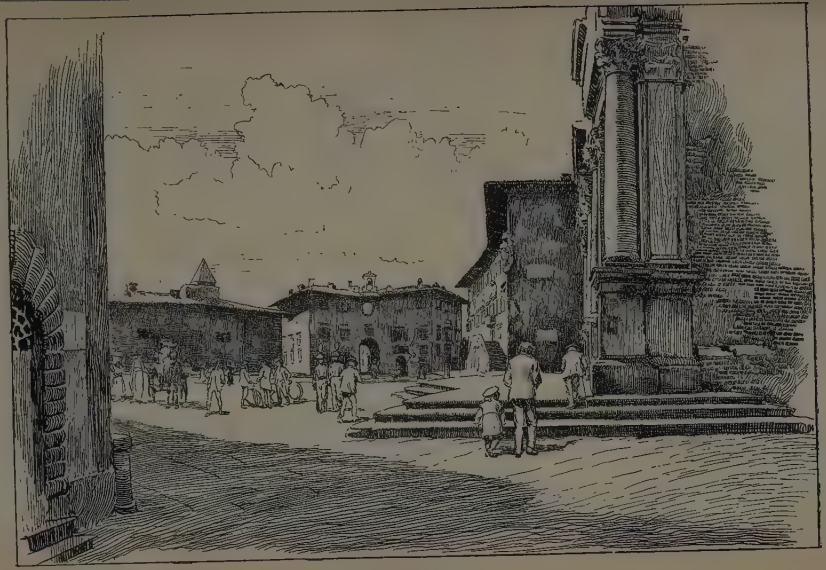
At the end of Via S. Frediano is a wonderfully picturesque square, the Piazza de' Cavalieri. Here the buildings follow the irregular curve of the ancient forum or amphitheatre, upon whose ruins rose the noble palaces of the Commune, the Palazzo degl' Anziani, the Palazzo Vecchio, and the infamous prison-tower of the Gualandi. These have all perished. Cosimo I. rebuilt them to serve the purposes of his rather mock-heroic equestrian Order of S. Stefano, and his statue is now the guardian of the place. The Piazza S. Caterina, with its pleasant rows of trees, forms a much-needed oasis of shade in the north-east corner of the city.

The heart of the famous University is *La Sapienza*, a brown building with an ancient cloister standing almost in the centre of the curved Lung' Arno; while her younger offshoots, the Natural History Museum, the Botanical Garden, the Schools of Medicine and Surgery, line Via Solferino. The great hospital of S. Chiara, whose healing work has continued unceasingly since the middle ages, occupies nearly the whole of the south side of the Piazza del Duomo. Either Via Solferino or the winding course of Via S. Maria, in which is the Trovatelli or Foundling Hospital, lead to the famous area where the four great architectural treasures of Pisa are enshrined, the Duomo, the Campo Santo, the Baptistery and the Leaning Tower, all dazzling white in the sunshine, and bewildering to the eye with their innumerable columns and pinnacles.

In building as in war Pisa was strong and original, and set her stamp on the architecture that surrounded

her. She took the Tuscan-Romanesque style, and her splendour-loving temperament forced her to develop it in the direction of great elaboration of detail. The style that resulted may be studied at every stage from the simple form of S. Piero a Grado, to the intricacy of the Duomo, the Baptistery, the Leaning Tower, S. Michele al Borgo and S. Paolo a Ripa d' Arno, with their multiplication of small arcades. But though over-ornamented it never degenerated, as in Lucca, to the merely rhetorical, with frontispieces raised far above the roof of the building for the sole purpose of covering more space with meaningless ornamentation. Perhaps its most emphatic and typical instance in Pisa is the Leaning Tower, the whole structure of which is masked with row upon row of precisely similar arcades, which though beautiful in themselves, weary the eye by unnecessary reiteration. Far finer is the tower of S. Niccolò, where the arcading is temperately used, and its single row of arches is a delight instead of a weariness. There was never any progression or development in the form or in the proportions of the structure. The Pisans used the basilica form as they found it, practically a large oblong gabled house, with a small gabled house superimposed and one or two apses at the end, supported inside by two rows of columns. But they paid more attention to the harmony of the interior and of the exterior than any people since the Romans, and covered the exterior with panelling below and with arcades above, elaborating the façade to such an extent that it was practically covered with arcades and columns, each column even being sometimes fancifully carved.

The great group of the Duomo, the Baptistery, the Leaning Tower and the Campo Santo, the most perfect expression of the Pisan mind, is rather curiously



PIAZZA DEI CAVALIERE

placed in an outlying corner, beyond the reach of the encroaching waters of the Arno that so often spread themselves over the lower portion of the city, and of the enemies who so frequently approached it by the undefended suburbs on the south bank. In their isolation they surely present the solitary instance in Italy of a great cathedral surrounded with a wide space of greensward; a worthy setting, although it was probably the intention of the builders to pave the whole with precious marbles.

Any consideration of Pisan architecture would be incomplete without a reference to the mysterious Guilds of Comacine builders who spread southwards from Como in the early Middle Ages. It is hard to tell exactly how far their influence is to be seen in Pisa, while it is evident that they had some hand in most of the important buildings, and that on the Baptistery and the churches of SS. Cosimo and Damiano they have left hieroglyphs that very possibly are their masons' marks.

Of the multitude of mediæval towers that crowded the city many remain, but nearly all were so truncated by order of the Florentines after 1509 that they hardly rise above the houses and are difficult to discover. A few here and there have evaded the general destruction, and still rise proudly into the air to remind us of what the others were like. Although regrettable to the student of the past, Pisa has no doubt benefitted by their loss, for the old town with those great shafts closely packed together can have been neither sunny, airy, nor safe.

Few traces of the Roman city now exist. On the site of its temples rose churches, whose columns, and much of the material of which they were built, were filched from the earlier structures. Architraves were made from fragments of temples, while carved stones

and inscriptions are built into so many walls that we cannot go far without seeing their beautiful patterns and bold lettering. But all that we have to remind us of the many splendid imperial buildings of which we read, is one poor fragment of Thermae near the Porta Lucchese, and faint traces of an aqueduct outside it. Of the Circus Maximus, the Naumachia, the Forum and the theatres, the temple of Augustus, the arsenal and the great palace of Hadrian, which extended from the Piazza del Duomo to the Porta Lucchese, no traces remain.

Sculpture was perhaps the field in which Pisa was greatest. Art had lagged behind trade, and until the middle of the thirteenth century both painting and sculpture were at the lowest ebb. Then there suddenly appeared a stranger, Niccolò, probably from distant Apulia, who transformed the latter into a living art, showing in his first work, the pulpit of the Baptistery, a perfect command over his art, a power of expressing emotion hitherto unknown, and of conceiving figures that had the grandeur of the old Romans, but were instinct with a new and a more vigorous life. In spirit he was a pagan and ignored the gentle graces of Christianity, but he forced his pagan spirit into the service of the Christian Church. His Madonna looks like a suffering Roman matron, and the crucified Saviour like a gladiator, while his devils recall the grotesque masks of the ancients. He was assisted and followed by his son Giovanni, sculptor and architect, who inherited his father's vigour and strength, combined with romantic elements derived from the French-Gothic and a realism that tempered, without entirely superseding, his classical vein. Niccolò revived the sense of form, his influence affected sculpture throughout all Italy, and was only superseded by that of Donatello.

THE WALLS OF PISA FROM THE NORTH-WEST

Giovanni's personality is perhaps most strongly felt in the work of Giotto and of his contemporaries, but it spread all over Italy, and is very evident in the sculpture of Florence and of Siena.

Except Giunta Pisano and his followers, who painted grim crucifixes in the first half of the thirteenth century, and Traini, the fourteenth century painter of the S. Thomas Aquinas picture in the church of S. Caterina, Pisa has produced few painters; and was obliged to summon artists from Siena or from Florence to adorn her walls.

The Walls of Pisa

Few cities have preserved their mediæval walls with such loving care as Pisa. The circuit is complete save where the traveller enters the city; and there, alas, a wide breach has been made by the restless spirit of modernity. But once past the paltry barrier and the banal square, with its inevitable statue of Victor Emanuel, that take the place of the old Porta Romana, one quickly perceives that the city is a walled one. Glimpses of battlements close the vistas of the streets, and green fields peep through the open gates, marking that abrupt transition between town and country peculiar to a fortified city.

The walls are best seen from without. An admirable impression of them can be had on leaving the city by the Porta Lucchese. Turning to the left, after passing a crucifix over-shadowed by cypresses, we come to the edge of a stretch of level marshy meadows, gaily pied in spring with orchises and grape hyacinths. Above our heads the high air vibrates with the song of larks. Before us is the long line of the city walls. Strong, grim and grey, they look with nothing to break the outline of square battlements against the sky, but that majestic

group of domes and towers for whose defence they were built. At the angle of the wall to the right is a square watch-tower, backed by groups of cypresses that rise into the air like dark flames. Its little windows command the flat plain as far as the horizon. How easy to imagine the warning blast of the warder's trumpet as he caught sight of a distant enemy, and the wall springing into life at the sound. Armed men buckling on their harness would swarm up ladders to the battlements, the catapult groan and squeak as its lever was forced backwards, and at the sharp word of command the first flight of arrows would be loosed. But the dream fades, and we pass on to the angle of the wall where the cypresses stand. From the picturesque Jews' cemetery, to which access is easy, the structure of the walls can be studied in detail because the hand of the restorer has been perforce withheld within its gates. The wall is some forty feet high, built of stone from the Pisan hills, weathered for the most part to a greyish hue. The masonry of the lower half is good. The blocks of stone are large and well laid. Those of the upper half are smaller and the masonry is in places careless and irregular. The red brick battlements are square. At short intervals there are walled-up gateways, round-headed or ogival in form, and the whole surface is rent and patched. Centuries of war and earthquakes, rain and fire, have given it a pleasant irregularity, the record of violent and troublous times. The city can be re-entered by the Porta Nuova, only a few yards to the left of the cemetery. So venerable do these battered walls look that we need the full evidence of history to realise that they had more than one predecessor. The memory even of the first walls of Pisa, an ancient city when Rome was young, has been lost. The earliest of which we know anything appear on a map of the

1. Tempio di Adriano.
2. Terme di Adriane
3. S. Reparata
4. Parlasorio
5. S. Tommaso
6. S. Cristofano
7. S. Grisso.
8. S. Felice
9. Padule
10. S. Pietro.
11. S. Margherita.
12. S. Ambrogio.
13. S. Simone.
14. Porta a Mare
15. S. Giorgio.
16. S. Isidoro
17. S. Lazzero
18. S. Filippo.
19. Porta Samuelle
20. S. Michele
21. S. Bartolommeo.
22. S. Salvatore.
23. Porta d' Ore
24. S. Clemente
25. S. Matteo in Stretta
26. S. Andrea.
27. S. Leonardo in Pratiselle
28. S. Lorenzo de Polliciai
29. Cerchia Nuova.
30. Getto d' Arno.
Lucca Nuova
Getto d' Arno

ninth century drawn by one Bonanno;[1] a map, we should rather say professing to be of the ninth century, for churches of the thirteenth century are marked upon it, so it must either have been made, or the churches inserted, then. The fact that the names of the buildings marked on it are written in Italian gives an overwhelming probability to the latter view. But whether of the ninth or the thirteenth century, it so entirely agrees with allusions in early charters and with such early remains as exist, that failing a better, the map may be considered a trustworthy guide. The one point on which it cannot be followed is the position of the river Auser, or Ozzeri, which in the Middle Ages flowed southwards through the city and fell into the the Arno. Bonanno places it to the east of the walled city, whereas tradition and all existing documents of the period indicate, as will be seen, that it flowed outside the western wall. It is suggested by reliable authorities that Bonanno mistook for the Auser the open drain which carried the water from the Thermæ down to the Arno, and marked it on his map by the name of the river.

The walls existing in the ninth century seem to have been rebuilt in the beginning of the eleventh century on the same lines, as is established by a document of 1027 speaking of the land lying between the old wall and the wall of the city.[2] But with the scanty remains and the few allusions in documents which we have to guide us, it is difficult to disentangle

[1] See *Dissertatione su la Storia di Pisa*, ii., by Flaminio del Borgo, or reproduction in *Les Monuments de Pise*, G. Rohault de Fleury. The original is inscribed, "Lo forte di Pisa de lo ottogento LIII chonforme fu liniato per Maestro Bonnano dia Pisa.

[2] "Donamus Leoni filio Bonii suisque heredibus quandam terram sitam inter murum veterem et murum Civitatis Pisæ," quoted by M. Tanfani in work on S. Maria della Spina.

the two. We can, however, trace their common course. In Bonanno's map the wall extends some three hundred feet westward from the *Porta Aurea* parallel to the Arno, and then turns away from it at right angles. In this western wall Bonanno places the Porta al Mare which we know was near the Church of S. Niccolò [1] then outside the walls. The positions of the two existing gates are still as represented on the map. The western wall must have been built along the banks of the Auser or Ozzeri, the tributary of the Serchio which fell into the Arno near the church of S. Clemente, and the winding line of Via S. Maria is believed to follow the ancient course of the stream. The latter was crossed by a bridge, and there was a gate close by called the Porta al Ponte. All that we know of the northern course of the wall is that it ran south of the churches of S. Caterina and S. Zeno, and that there was a gate in the direction of Lucca. The eastern wall just included the church of S. Felice (now the Cassa di Risparmio) whilst S. Michele in Borgo, S. Andrea, and S. Pietro in Vincolis, were left outside in the region known as Forisportæ. There was a gate near S. Felice and another not far from S. Michele in Borgo, the *Porta Samuele*; S. Matteo and S. Sylvestro are also mentioned as being outside the walls. At the church of S. Clemente the wall turned southwards and rejoined the *Porta Aurea* at a spot where in 1124 a gigantic statue was erected, whence its name of Canto del Gigante.

The tiny town, enclosed within the walls just described, was an irregular parallelogram lying entirely on the north side of the Arno, with a very short river

[1] Document of 1105 written "in Pisa in Porta Maris presso la chiesa di S. Niccolò." Document of 1146. Actum Pisa porta Maris domo uxoris quandam Gherardi Tartarii prope ecclesiam San Nicolai. *Anteq. Muratori*, iii., 1161.

frontage. The two existing gates belonging to the wall of the ninth century are similar in style, a style little removed from that of the Roman decadence, with finely jointed masonry, but a general carelessness of construction. One is the Porta Aurea at the junction of Vicolo della Sapienza and Via Ulivo, built into the right hand wall of the courtyard behind Palazzo Uppezinghi.[1] Only its outer wall remains with two ogival arched openings, the larger for waggons and horsemen, the smaller for foot passengers; while in the wall above, which was doubtless once crowned with battlements,[2] are two round-headed doors, which gave access to an exterior wooden gallery placed there in time of war to defend the approach. This was supported on beams, thrust into sockets in the masonry with brackets beneath to support them. The base of the structure is now buried some six feet below the present level of the city owing to the rise in the bed of the Arno. This gate was beloved by the Pisans. Standing on the Via Emilia, the road which connected the city with its port, they passed through it each time they returned home victorious, laden with booty from their splendid maritime expeditions. In course of time Porta Aurea came to be associated with their victories, and after the conquest of the Balearic Isles in 1115 they raised it to the rank of a triumphal arch. Some time later an inscription was placed on the gateway to record the fact,[3] which, although not contemporary, well expresses the Pisan spirit of pride and vainglory:—

[1] It will be found in a courtyard closed by an iron gate, of which the key can be had by applying at the house immediately on the left.

[2] See restoration on p. 33, vol. i., in *La Toscane au Moyen Age*, by G. Rohault de Fleury. The sockets still exist, and in one of them is the fragment of a beam.

[3] The inscription is now in the Church of the Madonna

" By the noble citizens this is called the Golden Gate
Whereon the honour of their nobility expresses itself.
See in this city which is wont to strike the neck of the wicked
The main glory of the Empire.
Most terrible was the rage of the greater Balearic, when
She with conquered Ivica felt the power of Pisa.
Eleven hundred and fifteen years after the Virgin conceived God,
The valourous people of Pisa laid both low,
The double carnage gives proof of this.
Love justice, ye rulers of the earth."

The other gate, whose identification with the Porta al Mare is almost a certainty, is a simpler building, with only one wide, round-headed arch.[1]

The ancient walls were practically swept away by the prosperity of Pisa. Besides the Balearic Islands she had conquered Carthage, the Lipari Islands, Elba, Corsica, and Palermo, and her galleys poured their spoils into the Pisan port. She traded with the East, and was successful in commerce as in war. Her inhabitants increased rapidly. They could no longer be penned within the narrow limits of the old wall, but overflowed in all directions beyond it. Not only was the Borgo thickly populated, but a whole new region, called Forisportæ, sprang up. So masked was the wall by houses, built into it and huddling against it both on the outside and the inside, that it seems to have been actually invisible. So much so that con-

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de' Galletti. The identity of the above-mentioned gate with the Porta Aurea is disputed by some modern scholars. Professor Clemente Lupi, Director of Ancient Monuments and Keeper of the Archives in Pisa, has found reference to it as *ad Portorium*, *i.e.* the customs house, and supposes it was the landing-place for goods brought into the city. The two theories do not seem to be irreconcilable.

[1] In Via della Pergola under an archway leading to Piazza S. Giorgio, opposite the church of the same name.

temporary chroniclers spoke of Pisa as without walls, and attributed her safety to the valour of her citizens and the multitude of her towers. The ancient wall was evidently so hidden and decayed that Pisa must be regarded as a defenceless city in the twelfth century. It is curious that her citizens should have neglected their own safety at a time when they were masters of fortification and defence; when their fame in these arts had reached as far as Egypt and Syria, and when the Milanese came to them to beg for engineers.

In the meantime they were filling their city with architectural treasures. S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno was rising, and the Duomo had been completed in 1118. Its exterior shone with rich marbles, bronzes, and sculptures, while the interior was a worthy shrine for many holy and precious relics and noble works of art. It stood on high ground to the north-west of the city, bare and open to the enemy, outside even the feeble defence of suburban houses. This roused the Pisans. They remembered how the quarter of Chinsica had been burned down by the Saracens and feared a like fate for this new and splendid symbol of their greatness. A fresh wall was begun, wide enough in circuit to include everything, Duomo and suburbs alike; the wall that still exists. They began at *Porta Legazia*, the modern *Porta a Mare*, on the south bank of the river, across which they threw a fortified bridge, and continued the wall northwards as far as *Porta al Leone*. The date of this undertaking is variously stated, but there is documentary evidence to show that Via S. Maria was already enclosed in 1140. Then there came a pause. The resources of the Republic had been drained by the wars with Lucca and by the crusade of 1146. Even this first section of the walls was left at half its intended

height, a fact which probably explains the diversity of the masonry from that of the upper part. When the Baptistery, a splendid building worthy to stand by the side of the Duomo, was begun in 1155, the Pisans were once more reminded of the danger of leaving their treasures unprotected. In the same year work was resumed upon the walls under Bonanus or Bonanno, the future architect of the Campanile. A

PORTA AL LEONE

chronicler tells us that, "In the said year, Cocco being Consul of Pisa, walls were erected and barbicans, from the Porta Legatia to the Porta al Leone and further."[1] Rapid progress was made. The following year, after setting up the marble lion which still guards the Porta al Leone, the wall was extended as far as the bridge over the Auser, or Ozzeri, and the rest of the city, including Chinsica, the suburb on the opposite side of the river, was defended by barbicans. But even this was too slow for the

[1] *Cronica di Pisa.* Anonymous.

Pisans, who were then trembling for fear of a descent of the terrible Barbarossa. Temporary wooden walls were hurriedly erected all over the city, and strengthened in 1157 with wooden towers, castles, and *bretèches*.[1] This was necessary to appease the fears of the people, for serious delay in the completion of the real walls was caused by the difficulty of transporting the vast masses of stone from the Pisan hills. Marangone writes that at last a canal was dug from the quarries to the church of S. Zenone, and the building-material brought in barges. Before the end of the year another great piece was added to the wall. Then there was a pause again, but by 1159 it had reached the *Ponte della Fortezza*, then called the *Ponte della Spina*. Thus the defence of the city north of the Arno was completed, but Chinsica on the south was crying out for something more stable than barbicans to defend her. Her prayers were not listened to for three years, and then the work went on so slowly that the walls begun in 1162 were not finished until 1286. The circuit was thus completed after a hundred and forty years of intermittent work, and the Commune in that same year proceeded to make laws for the maintenance of the walls, so that they should not become buried in houses like their predecessor. A clear space of eight *canne* or thirty-five feet, marked with white stones, was to surround the walls outside, and a military road, three *canne*, or thirteen feet broad, was to follow their circuit inside. Officials called *Misuratori delle Canne* were appointed to prevent anyone infringing on these zones, and their office was considered so important that they were forbidden to undertake other work or to leave the city for more than a month at a

[1] Circumierunt totam urbem Pisanum et kinticam ligneis turribus et castellis et britischio pro timore Frederici regis Romani venientes. *Cronaca Pisana*, Marangone.

time. Sanitary measures were also enacted. Proprietors of land outside the gates were obliged to plant avenues of trees, and deep channels were dug to carry off the drainage of the city.

In the main the work was well done, and the wall proved strong enough to defy Castruccio Castracane, the Lord of Lucca, who besieged the city in 1328 together with the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. In spite of a complete investment, wooden towers whose like had never been seen in Italy, and extensive mines, their efforts were vain until treason within opened the gates. The weak points betrayed were remedied in 1330, and six years later the *Porta alle Piagge*, which had been greatly injured during the furious faction fights between the Gualandi and Fazio della Gherardesca, was strengthened by the construction of the celebrated tower, *La Vittoriosa*; and at the same time the walls were carefully repaired.

Alterations and additions were made from time to time, but the walls remained substantially the same until the fall of the Republic. During the long and savage attacks of the Florentines they suffered greatly, and when Cosimo I. de Medici finally became master of the city, one of his first acts was the restoration of the walls and of their battlements. He closed most of the old gates and opened or rebuilt others, the reconstruction being made with red brick, while he replaced the swallow-tailed battlements with square ones. His gates are still used. They are the *Porta Nuova*, an entirely new one which took the place of the *Porta al Leone*; the *Porta Lucchese*, which he rebuilt; the *Porta alle Piagge*, on the north; the *Porta Romana*, or *S. Antonio*, destroyed to make room for the railway; and the *Porta a Mare* on the south.

Any reader wishing to study the walls carefully should begin on the west side, where they are oldest.

To the north of the *Ponte di Ferro* is the arsenal, or Cittadella, built in 1200 and jutting out beyond the original walls, part of which were destroyed to make room for it. The point where it rejoins them is marked by the Torre Ghibellina. Between this and the *Porta al Leone* are remains of several old gates walled up by Cosimo I., the Porta Vieza, probably; the Porta Lecci; the Porta Buozzi; the Porta S. Chiara, and one or two nameless ones. Then comes Cosimo's *Porta Nuova*, a fine rusticated stone arch crowned by his arms. A little further on, after turning for a brief tract to the north, we reach, in the angle where the wall again branches off to the west, the celebrated *Porta al Leone*. It has remains of a tower and two walled-up gateways, one on either side of the angle. The famous byzantine lion instead of standing outside on his original bracket, which still exists, now looks down peacefully from the battlements within. Here the wall turns again to the north and at the angle is a tower, which defended both the northern and the western walls, now truncated because it attracted the lightning. Just underneath it, to the west, is the ancient *Porta S. Donnino*. On the northern side are the half-buried remains of the Porta Vescovado, opened according to an inscription on its lintel in 1211. Through it the Pisans used to pass in procession to the Church of S. Stefano Fuor le Mura, to invoke the blessings of heaven on their crops. Between this and the Porta Lucchese, a plain stone arch, the wall shows traces of various reconstructions, including a gate that was never finished.

Beyond the Porta Lucchese are traces of long disused gates, the Porta Parlascio, the Porta Monetaria, so called from an adjacent mint, the Porta della Pace and the Porta Calcesana, whose names we read in the pages of Pisan history. Between the latter and the

Porta alle Piagge, which was destroyed in 1869 after the great flood and replaced by an iron barrier, the wall has been patched with zones of brickwork. It was formerly united to the Ponte della Fortezza by the Vittoriosa tower, the opposite end of the bridge being defended by the Porta della Spina, of which no trace remains. The rest of the eastern side is covered by the Florentine Fortezza or Fortress. At the angle is the *Porta Fiorentina*, rebuilt in the nineteenth century by Leopoldo II. The Porta del Giglio was near here, but the remains of it are scant.

It will be remembered that the southern side of the wall was constructed last; and it will be seen that it is much better built than the rest. Besides the Porta Romana or S. Agostino, there was once the Porta S. Paolo near the church of the same name. Turning again to the west the circuit is completed at the *Porta Legazia*, or *a Mare*, one of Cosimo's reconstructions.

The Towers of Pisa

The external appearance of an Italian city in the twelfth century was so unlike anything we are accustomed to in modern times that a strong effort of the imagination is needed to conceive it. Seen from a distance the walls enclosed, not houses, but a forest of tall square shafts, rising into the sky like the crowded chimney stacks in a manufacturing town but far more thickly set together. The city appeared, to use a graphic contemporary metaphor, like a sheaf of corn bound together by its walls. San Gimignano, though most of its towers have perished long ago, helps us to imagine faintly what Italian towns were like in the days of Frederick Barbarossa or of his grandson Frederick II. For most of the houses were actually towers, long rectangular columns, vying with each

other in height and crowded close together on either side of the narrow, airless, darkened streets. Sometimes they were connected with one another by wooden bridges, and all were furnished with wooden balconies used in defensive and offensive warfare with their neighbours. Cities full of towers were common all over southern France and central Italy, but Tuscany had more than any other state, and those of Pisa were

PORTION OF AN INTARSIA PANEL IN THE DUOMA, SHOWING PART OF THE CITY AND MEDIÆVAL TOWERS

the most famous of all. The habit of building and dwelling in towers rather than in houses may have arisen from the difficulty of expanding laterally within an enclosed city; but a stronger reason may be found in the dangers and uncertainty of life in a period when a man might be attacked at any moment by his fellow-citizen, as well as by the enemy of the state. It was a distinct military advantage to overlook one's neighbour, who might be an enemy; and towers rose higher and higher.[1] The spirit of emulation entered, and rich nobles gloried in adding tower to tower and in looking down on all rivals.

[1] Benjamin da Tudela.

But whatever the cause of their existence, they were picturesque, and must have presented a gallant sight on the eve of a high festival. The tall shafts were tinged with gold by the western sun, their battlements crowned with three fluttering banners—the eagle of the Emperor, the white cross of the Commune, and the device of the People—looking as though a cloud of many-coloured butterflies were hovering over the city. Again, how dramatic the scene when the city was rent by one of the perpetually recurring faction-fights. Light bridges with grappling-irons were thrown from tower to tower, doors and windows were barricaded, balconies and battlements lined with men in shining mail, bearing the fantastic device of their leader on helm and shield. Mangonels, or catapults, huge engines stationed on the roofs of the towers, sent masses of stone hurtling through the air, whistling arbelast bolts and clothyard shafts flew in thick showers, boiling oil or lead rained down on the heads of those who ventured down to attack the doors, and arrows, with greek fire attached, were shot with nice aim into the wooden balconies and bridges. Vile insults were hurled where missiles failed to strike. The shouts and shrieks of the combatants were mingled with the crash of a falling tower or with the hissing of a fire-arrow. Where those struck, a red glow arose and a thick cloud of smoke enveloped the defenders.

Although it is evident that towers were very numerous in Pisa, it is difficult to arrive at their precise number. The chroniclers differ greatly in their estimates. Benjamin da Tudela, for instance, says that there were 10,000 in the twelfth century, while Marangone puts the number at 15,000 and Tronci at 16,000. These are round numbers such as the mediæval mind loved, but we have abundant evidence that they are not much exaggerated. The accompanying illustration, taken

from an intarsia panel in the Duomo, shows how closely the towers were packed together, while the mass of legislation relating to them was directed against abuses that could only have arisen if their number was very large.

The Pisan towers were all of similar construction. The lower part of the walls was strengthened by a vast ogival arch of fine masonry filled in with inferior stone or brick-work. The different stories were supported by arched vaults, and there seems to have been no way of getting from storey to storey save by ladders. In the masonry were brackets, with square sockets above into which were thrust the beams that supported the projecting wooden balconies, and seven or eight feet higher were corbels for attaching the roof of the balcony. Many of the towers were crenellated and machicolated. They were generally built of Verruca stone, though sometimes of brick; less often, however, than one would imagine from the existing ones which owe their brickwork to later restorations. The old writers speak of *Torre Vergate*, or striped towers, meaning that the stone or marble of which the great arches were built was in alternate rows of black and white. A good specimen of this style can be seen in the Lung' Arno Mediceo near the Banca Commerciale.

The construction was sometimes modified by the fact that they were dwelling-houses as well as fortresses. Great families had a dwelling-house with a tower rising from the middle of one of its walls, as in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence, the tower serving for defence only. As a rule, however, the lower stories of the tower itself formed a dark and dismal dwelling, the only home of the owner and his family.

Their great height, which sometimes reached 200 feet, was always a menace to the public safety, exposed

as they were to the lightning and the wind. After violent storms one would collapse, dragging down adjacent balconies and bridges in its fall. Fire would then break out as in 1150, when, after the destruction of ten towers by a terrible conflagration, the Consuls ordered all wooden structures, such as balconies, to be destroyed. But this attempt to minimise the danger of towers seems to have been largely disobeyed. Balconies and bridges continued to endanger the lives of peaceful citizens for many years to come.

In 1174 it was forbidden, in the interests of public safety, to build a tower of a greater height than fifty-seven feet, and two sworn officials, called Captains of the Wall, were appointed to enforce the observance of the law. At a later period the Consuls allowed a height of ninety-five feet. Even ecclesiastical property was not exempt, while the tower of any noble who disobeyed was either pulled down or reduced to the legal height within a month after it was built. Sometimes, instead of pulling down a tower, the government seized and garrisoned it for the purpose of maintaining peace and order in the city. The quarrelsome Sassetti family had to submit several times to such occupations. In the same year strict laws were made concerning projectiles. It was forbidden to throw anything whatever from bridge or balcony, either on to another tower or house, or at any person. At the request of a majority of the neighbours the offending structure was destroyed, and the height of the tower to which it belonged diminished by one half. The materials became the property of the Commune, which was obliged to convey them to the arsenal, where the timbers were used for building galleys and the brick and stone for the construction of docks. Repressive measures were also enacted against the bridges connecting tower with tower, which had again become a danger. A perfect network

of them crossed and recrossed the streets at a considerable height, depriving them of such light and air as the towers permitted them to receive. A heavy fine of 1000 solidi was imposed on offenders, half of whose tower was also demolished. Projecting gargoyles, or balconies wider than the regulation foot and a half, likely to be a danger to the wayfarer, were liable to be destroyed. The volumes of water that poured from the mouths of the gargoyles were also restrained.

The legislation concerning projectiles proved insufficient, and further laws were made in 1285, the punishments being made much more rigorous. In 1286 the Commune found it necessary to forbid the nobles to build any more towers in the Spina quarter, the number being already so great as to give rise to constant faction-fights. Disobedience was punished by heavy fines. *Operai* were also appointed to enquire into the condition of existing towers, with power to demolish the weak or defective ones. The necessity for such legislation is obvious. One shudders to think of the dark and airless streets with those grim shafts intercepting sunshine and air, to say nothing of the innumerable bridges and balconies crossing over, or projecting into the street. Then there was the danger from stones, arrows and other projectiles, during the almost incessant faction-fights, and the chance of a powerful noble rebelling against the state to the extreme terror and danger of his neighbours. Occasionally the Commune itself was obliged to erect towers in order to keep the nobles in check, thus fighting them with their own weapons. The danger of these lofty shafts was brought home anew to the Pisans by the terrible catastrophies that occurred during the great gale of 1325. Several tall towers fell, among them that of the Judge of Gallura at the end of the Borgo, burying fifty people in their ruins. Many more, adds

the chronicler, would have been crushed had they not been kept at home by torrents of rain. About ten years later the *Torre di Ferro*, near the Piazza de' Priori, was riven into three pieces by a terrible storm. Great stones crashed through the air and many were killed. The survivors rushed frantically away, shrieking out that it was the judgment of God, a portent. During the long and bitter struggles that ended with the final subjugation of Pisa to Florence many great towers were destroyed; but the final blow that put an end to the Age of Towers was struck in 1509, when the conquerors decreed that all the survivors should be reduced to the height of fifty-two feet.

But few towers remain to show us what Pisa looked like before her fall. So lamentable was the condition of the city in the time of Pope Julius II, that he refused to hold a council in Pisa because it was impossible to find adequate lodgings for the bishops: "Who can be unaware, we speak with pain, of the cruel siege that Pisa has endured and the desolation to which she has been reduced by war. Indeed but few houses have their walls intact, and hardly any can be found still furnished with floors and balconies. Where could the cardinals of the holy Roman Church find lodgings, or the patriarchs and the archbishops?"[1]

Things were but little better in the middle of the seventeenth century, when Lassels found grass growing in the streets.[2]

The bases of the towers, however, survived. As the city was gradually rebuilt they were put to various uses, disguised by modern additions or coated with plaster. After the great earthquake of 1846 the plaster cracked and disclosed the ancient forms of

[1] *Dissert: sull' Origione della Università Pisana.* Flaminio dal Borgo.

[2] *Voyage of Italy.* Richard Lassels, Gent., 1670.

THE TORRE DEL CAMPANA

doors and windows, and the great ogival arches of the towers. The few that evaded the general destruction still exist, more or less in their original condition.[1]

The *Torre della Verga d'Oro*, now covered with stucco and built into the royal palace, is connected with the church of S. Niccolò by two stone bridges. It belonged to the houses of the Gaetani, and is said to have been the highest dwelling-tower in Pisa. Close to it was the tower called *Lanfredonia*. Both are alluded to by Sardo as *Torre vergate*, so that no doubt alternating rows of black and white marble are hidden under the stucco. The *Torre della Campana* in Via S. Margherita (out of Via S. Frediano), with its masonry more or less in the original state, is interesting. Its great ogival arch is clearly visible, and the original windows, with their round-headed arches, can be traced. It is now a belfry, and its bell summons the students of the neighbouring University to their studies at half-past seven every morning. The *Torre degl' Uppezinghi*, built into the palace of the same name, commonly called *Alla Giornata*, is difficult to see from the street save at a considerable distance.[2] Its base is of rough stonework. The upper part is the finest specimen of brickwork in Pisa. Divided into three bands by brick cornices cut into lozenges, it has several beautiful round-headed windows and some pointed ones. The summit has been rudely restored with stone and roofed in. The red bricks are good and the mortar is excellent. This part belongs to the

[1] Many of the details given above are taken from Repetti's *Dizionario della Toscana*, from *La Toscane au Moyen Age* and *Les Monuments de Pise au Moyen Age*, by Georges Rohault de Fleury, which should be consulted for further information on the subject.

[2] To get a good view ring at No. 5 Vicolo della Sapienza, just behind the palace. Permission is readily given to enter the courtyard at the back, from whence the tower rises.

thirteenth century, the lower to a much earlier one. A fine tower in Via degl' Orafi shows an ogival arch, with good masonry very much patched. Others behind the Palazzo Agostini and the Hotel Victoria, and in Via S. Martino near Vicolo della Pera are worth looking at. Several more rise above the roofs of the city, but they are difficult of approach. At the corner of Via della Sapienza are the remains of a little church, S. Maria della Neve, which was built into the base of the old tower of the Galletti. It has an interesting inscription over the doorway.[1] The little shrine was desecrated long ago. Used by Vesalius as an anatomical theatre in 1543-45,

THE UPPEZINGHI TOWER

[1] Questa Eccletia Chiamata Santa Maria
Vergine fue Edifichata perlo
Commune e per lo Popolo di Pisa in dell' anno
della Incarnacione del nostro
Singnore Jesu Xpo MCCCXLIII. del mese d' agosto
Stante, Essendo Domino
Ranieri Novello Conte di Donoraticho Capitano generale
de Pisa e di Luccha
E del loro contado + Cecchо di Lemmo Capo Maestro
di detto lavoro e della Piassa
+ Giovanni Bucchia cittadino di Pisa fue operaio
della soprascritta Ecclesia
E della Piassa della Biada in dell detto tempo.[2]

[2] The Corn market, or Piazza della Biada, was demolished by the Florentines in 1493 when the University building, *La Sapienza*, was built.

as testified by an inscription, it is now a billiard saloon, the clicking of the balls breaking the silence of this quiet corner.

Of all the towers the *Torre Gualandi*, better known as the *Torre Della Fame*, or Tower of Famine, has the widest and most terrible renown. It stood on the north side of the Piazza degl' Anziani, at a place where seven roads met; hence it was also known as the Tower of the Seven Ways. Built originally for the Gualandi family, it seems to have passed into the hands of the state, and to have been used as the mew where the eagles of the Commune were kept, living representatives of the heraldic devices of their cities, just as the Sienese kept wolves and the Florentines lions. Into a "narrow hole within the mew" Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, together with his sons, Gaddo and Ugguccione, and his grandsons, Nino il Brigata and young Anselmuccio, was thrust by the vindictive Ruggiero degl' Ubaldini, Archbishop of Pisa, and there left to die a horrible death by starvation. This most ghastly instance of the cruelty of the Middle Ages has been described by Dante in imperishable words. "Ah, Pisa!" he bursts out with generous wrath at the end of the awful tale. "Scandal of the beauteous land. . . . Since thy neighbours are slow to punish thee, let Capraia and Gorgona move and hedge up the Arno at its mouth, that it may drown in thee every living soul. For if Count Ugolino had the fame of having betrayed thee in thy castles, yet oughtest thou not to have put his sons into such torture. Their youthful age . . . made Ugguccione and Brigata innocent."[1]

Leaving the great poet to tell the tale, our concern is with the tower. After the tragedy it remained in the hands of the Elders, who used it as a prison until

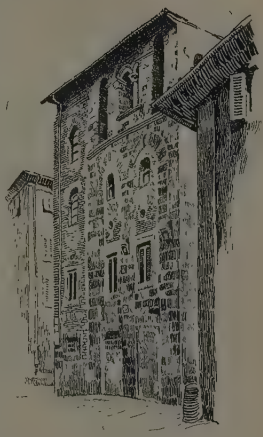
[1] *Inferno*, Canto 33 (Carlyle's translation).

1318. Alarmed by the terrible stench that invaded their palace, they then discovered that the prisoners who died within its narrow fœtid walls lay there unburied. This condition of things was too horrible to permit. They abandoned it as a prison, and built another near the palace of the Podestà. Eventually the Tower of Famine came into the possession of the Knights of S. Stefano, who demolished it in 1655. Some years later the Palazzo dell' Orologio was built on the site, and any existing remains were incorporated in the right wing of the palace. A walled-up doorway in the hall, half buried in the ground, is now shown as the entrance of the Tower of Famine, and some of the masonry at the back of the palace is said to have formed part of it. But in the only two known representations of the tower in its half-ruined state[1] the door is shown in the right-hand wall, whereas this one is in an inner wall parallel to that of the front. It may possibly be the original doorway, but it cannot be *in situ*. The masonry at the back of the palace, on the other hand, may be accepted as part of the wall of the Torre della Fame.

Many of the contemporary houses in Pisa were very similar in external structure to the towers. They had the same ogival arch, and the same brackets and corbels for balconies, but their height was considerably less, and they had ornate windows in the upper story. Some buildings even partake of the character of both houses and towers. A specimen of these tower-houses can be seen on the Lung' Arno Mediceo, near the Banca Commerciale. One of the best of the houses proper is a little to the left of the Torre Uppezinghi, at the corner of Via della Sapienza. From its

[1] The one here reproduced is taken from the Pisan edition of the *Ottimo Commento* of Dante, the other is in Grassi's *Descrizione Storica ed Artistica di Pisa*.

proximity to the Palazzo Uppezinghi it is often mistaken for the tower of that name. *Casa Minati*, in Via S. Maria, at the corner of Via del Museo, is remarkably well preserved. It has no fewer than seven ogival arches side by side, double round-headed windows, and its old sockets, brackets and corbels. The Via delle Belle Torri, in spite of its name, contains houses of this type,[1] and not the bases of towers as has hitherto been supposed. One of the finest is at the corner of Via della Scuola. But whether they be towers or houses, this quaint old street, even in its mutilated and restored condition, gives a better idea of a mediæval thoroughfare than any in Pisa save the Borgo, where the ancient houses are masked by arcades, giving it a peculiar air of mystery and antiquity. This intimate resemblance between towers and houses continued until about the end of the thirteenth century. So much alike were they that expressions such as *Palatium sive Torris* often occur in documents of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and all the municipal regulations for towers were binding on houses over two stories in height.



MEDIÆVAL HOUSE, VICOLO DELLA SAPIENZA

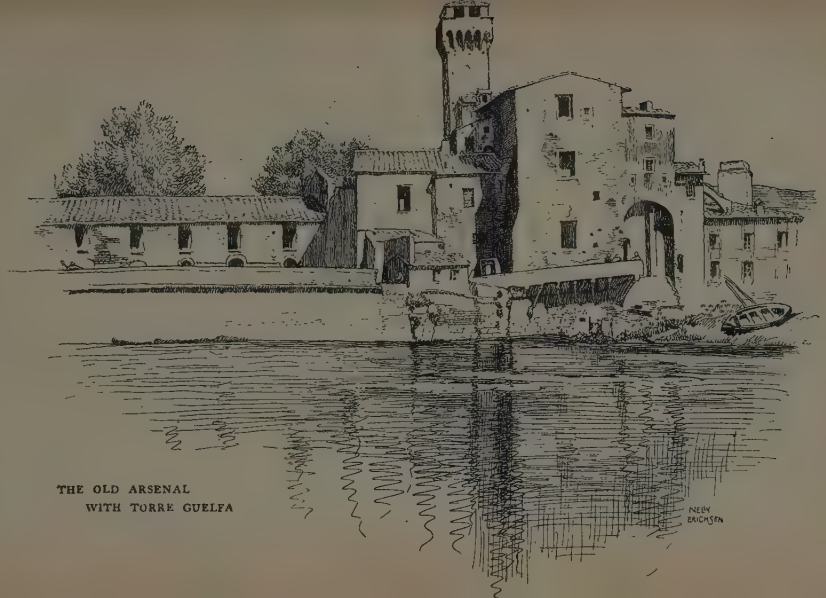
[1] According to Professor Clemente Lupi.

Then men wearied of being pent up in such narrow, dark quarters, and began to spread out their houses and adorn them with porticos and loggias. The house to the left in the Borgo Stretto, attributed to Niccolò Pisano because one of its sculptured figures resembles the Hercules of his pulpit, is typical of this new departure. The ground floor is spanned by one wide arch, and the first floor has a fine window with four ornate cuspidal arches, almost Venetian in effect. It is built for comfort rather than for defence.

The Pisan Bridges

Four bridges span the Arno in its course through the city. From the middle of the *Ponte di Mezzo*, a dignified marble structure placed just in the centre of the river's curve, all the other bridges can be seen. Above it is the *Ponte della Fortezza*, which is strong and seemly too, and below it the *Ponte Solferino*, shining with newness and rather curiously adorned with figures of the hated *Marzocco*, the lion of Florence. Beyond it the ugly *Ponte di Ferro* is just visible, close by the old arsenal.

In no wise remarkable for any particular beauty, these bridges are so interwoven into Pisan history as to be interesting. Bridges were always of special importance to the Pisans, their city being divided by a broad and rapid stream, often dangerously swollen by the waters of innumerable mountain torrents. Perpetual watch and ward had to be kept over it. In the early middle ages men with torches patrolled the banks all night, to give instant warning if the waters were menacing for the opening of such rude flood-gates as then existed. Later on a special officer was appointed to attend to the bridges, which in one form or another had existed from very early, possibly from pre-Roman



THE OLD ARSENAL
WITH TORRE GUELFA

days. They were forever being weakened by the water, and the office of the *Pontenaro* or *Pontonaro*, the bridge-warden, was no sinecure. His official dwelling was called the Bridge House, and must have been an abode of some dignity and beauty. Tronci describes one which included among its amenities a courtyard surrounded by porticoes, a well, orange trees, and a garden with pergolas and fruit trees. At first the *Pontenaro* only had charge of the *Ponte Vecchio*, then of the *Ponte della Spina*, as we see from an inscription at Pontedera,[1] and finally of all the bridges. His title then became *Pontenaro del Comune di Pisa*. His revenue at the end of the fourteenth century was 100 *Libri Denari*. The post was elective. A majority of patrons nominated the *Pontenaro*, and the election was ratified by the Elders and the Council of the People, and registered by a notary.[2]

The Ponte della Fortezza, originally called *Ponte della Spina* after the quarter of the city where it stood, is said by tradition to be the work of Charlemagne. But though that great monarch is known to have repaired and built many bridges in Tuscany there is nothing save a grain of faith to connect this bridge with his epoch. We have on the other hand documentary evidence that it was not built until July 1262, under the Elders Vertulio and Ranieri di S. Cassiano, at the expense of Ugone da Faliano, archbishop of Nicosia.

The year 1328 was a fatal one for the bridges of Pisa. Among the efforts made by the Pisans for the expulsion of the hated German hirelings of the emperor Louis of Bavaria was the destruction

[1] Hoc Opus fieri ser Andreas Francisci de Calcinaria Pontenarius veteris et novi de Spina Pisane Civitatis. . . . in anno D. MCCXLV.

[2] Tronci, iv. 185 *et seq.*

of the bridges. "They cut the Ponte della Fortezza," says a chronicler, "burnt the Ponte Nuova, which was built of wood, and barricaded the Ponte-Vecchio."[1] Hemmed in as the Germans now were they could not escape. Count Bonifazio, or Fazio, Novello della Gherardesca with his men, crossed the river somehow and hunted them out of Pisa, thereby lifting a weight of apprehension from the citizens who dreaded falling under the alien yoke. To prove their gratitude they rebuilt the bridge in stone with five arches, protecting its northern end with the impregnable tower called *La Vittoriosa*. This was built on the site of the old church of S. Barnabà, near which a fierce encounter had taken place between Fazio and the Germans, ending in the rout of the latter. There it stood, invincible and terrible, until the siege of 1509 when it suffered so much that Cosimo I. demolished it. Nor was it any longer necessary. The Ponte della Spina was now adequately defended by the strong fortress the Florentines built to the south, in a region that the Pisans had already begun to fortify. Giuliano di San Gallo was the architect, and erected a far stronger fortress than the Pisans had contemplated. When it was completed, in 1512, the name of the bridge was changed from *Ponte della Spina* to *Ponte della Fortezza*, the name it still bears.

The Ponte Vecchio or Ponte di Mezzo, has an older authentic pedigree than the other bridges. Originally built of wood the Pisans, in the splendid mood of the eleventh century, rebuilt it so strongly with stone foundations in 1046 that it endured until reduced to a ruinous condition by the conflicts of 1328. No longer lavish, the Commune patched it rudely with baulks of timber. It must have been a blot on the beauty of the city in that uncouth state, and probably unsafe. Anyhow in

[1] Tronci, iv. 136.

1382 "Messer Piero Gambacorti," as we read in the *Annali Pisani*, "with certain citizens, resolved to cause the Ponte Vecchio of Pisa to be destroyed for the greater adornment of the city," to make room for a new one to be built at their own cost. The old bridge, like the Ponte Vecchio of Florence, was covered with shops. Although the *Pontenaro* derived a yearly revenue from them of 300 florins and more, the shops offended these fastidious citizens as they obstructed the view of the Arno and of the houses on the Lung' Arno, "the fairest sight in Pisa." Funds were raised to buy out the shops by imposing a tax and "on the 14th day of April MCCCLXXXII. they began to destroy the Ponte Vecchio." The first piles of the new bridge were driven in 1388, and the work proceeded so rapidly that in less than three months the foundation-stone was laid. The ceremony was celebrated with great pomp. An altar was erected on the Chinsica side, mass was sung with splendid rites and the stone was blessed by the clergy. Then Pietro Gambacorti, the Elders, and a great crowd of citizens, threw coins and medals down upon it, after which it was covered with cement. The keystones of the side arches were all in their places before the end of July, and in order to push on the work fresh master-masons were called in, not only from Pisa but from Florence. By dint of herculean efforts the actual masonry was finished by August 3, and the bridge was completed by October 1, of the same year. It survived the assaults of the river until the winter of 1635, when it was swept away by floods,[1] and again rebuilt with one wide arch spanning the river. The approaches at either end were improved by pulling down houses to form the Piazza del Ponte on the north, and the

[1] A seventeenth century engraving of it may be seen in the Museo Civico.

Piazza de'Bianchi on the south. It must be this bridge that John Evelyn describes. "The River Arno runs through the middle of this stately Citye, whence the streete is called Lungarno. It is so ample that the Duke's galleys, built in the arsenal here, are easily conveyed to Livorno; over the river is a bridge, the like of which, for its flatness, and serving for a bridge, is nowhere in Europe."

This was at the end of its short existence. Less fortunate than its predecessor it fell into the river, undermined by the strong current, as early as January 1, 1645. The present bridge was then built, from the designs of Francesco Nave, a Roman, and completed in 1660, in the reign of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. The famous *Giuoco del Ponte* originally played in the Piazza degl' Anziani was transferred to the Ponte di Mezzo about the close of the fifteenth century, which remained the battlefield to the end, except from 1637 to 1659 when the bridge was out of repair, and the game was temporarily transferred to the Strada de Setaioli.[1]

The next bridge, the *Ponte Solferino*, a modern structure, spans the river near the site of the old *Ponte Nuovo*, built in 1182 to replace a still more ancient one which stood near the church of S. Maria della Spina. The inclusion of Chinsica, the southern suburb, within the city walls in the twelfth century, made a new bridge necessary, and the powerful Gualandi and their faction, including the Cortevecchio, the Gaetani, the Galli and other families, undertook to furnish the funds, knowing that such generosity would give them great power over the people. They were fiercely opposed by the opposite faction of the Albizzi, with their adherents the Uguccione, the Gentilizio, the Pandolfi and the rest. The Gualandi, feeling secure

[1] Camillo Borghi, quoted in *Palio e Ponte*, Heywood.

in the support of the archbishop, began the foundations of the bridge. The Albizzi immediately attacked the workmen and put them to flight. The Gualandi retorted by surrounding the labourers with a guard of armed men. Seeing the enemy's men-at-arms thus occupied, the Albizzi looted and burnt the houses and towers of the Gualandi. This, in the merry fashion of faction-fights in those sanguinary days, led to new deeds of violence, new retaliation. The confusion and rioting lasted for months, and was not quelled until the Great Council met and appointed twelve Consuls to make and to keep the peace. The Commune took the bridge into its own hands, and compensated the original builders. Even then it was only a low wooden structure, inconvenient for the passage of galleys, so that perhaps no one regretted it very deeply when it was burnt by the Germans in 1328. Rebuilt of stone four years afterwards with five arches and a drawbridge for the passage of shipping, in 1400 it shared the usual fate of Pisan bridges and was swept away by the force of the waters, never to rise again.

The place of the *Ponte al Mare* is now taken by a hideous iron bridge known as the *Ponte di Ferro*. Once the most beautiful bridge in Pisa, fortified with crenellated walls and various towers, it connected the city walls on the north and south banks. One of the intarsia panels in the Duomo thus represents it. Although the date of its erection is not actually known, the probability is overwhelming that it was about 1140, when the present walls were begun. Swept away by one of the terrible floods of the Arno the piles alone survived, but were forced out of the perpendicular. On that uncertain foundation the bridge rose again in the time of Arrigo Dandolo the Venetian, Podestà in 1331 and 1332, who also built the Church of S. Ranieri at the end of the bridge.

Hardly had it recovered from the effects of the last flood than another terrible inundation gave it a rough baptism. On the first Thursday of November 1333 the water rose so rapidly that all Chinsica was flooded. The next day several houses near S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno were undermined and fell, and people could not leave their homes except on horseback or in a

THE OLD PONTE AL MARE FROM AN INTARSIA PANEL IN THE DUOMO

boat. The whole town would have been under water if the Arno had not burst its banks in various places and spread its waters harmlessly over the fields. The little church of S. Ranieri fell when the Florentines sacked the quarter as far as S. Vito, but the bridge stood until 1870, when it collapsed into the river. The foundations can still be seen at low water a few yards to the east of the Ponte di Ferro. The approach on the north was by the large arch in the old arsenal, and on the south by a bridge-house which is still standing.

The necessity of enclosing the strong and freakish river within bounds will have been appreciated in reading the above pages. The present embankment is quite modern, built since the great flood of 1869. Fortunately it is efficient, as it cannot be called beautiful, and its cost was so great that the municipality has been crippled ever since.

Embankments there have been since such early days that they are lost in the night of time. They were continually being added to and repaired, and were never quite adequate. They were however picturesque, which the modern one is not. Those who remember them say that their loss has shorn Pisa of one of her greatest charms. Numerous broad flights of steps led down to the river, most of them dating back to the early middle ages, and they were varied by every kind of pleasant irregularity. Instead of the present shelf-like towing path, we see in old engravings men running along the top of the broad wall towing boats behind them. These old embankments were partly built of Verruca stone, with gargoyles and rings for mooring boats, and partly of brick, and it was necessary from time to time to raise the parapet owing to the gradual rise in the bed of the Arno.

In Montaigne's time the Arno was full of merchant shipping, and was crossed by three bridges. "The quays on either side are of fine masonry with supports to the very top."

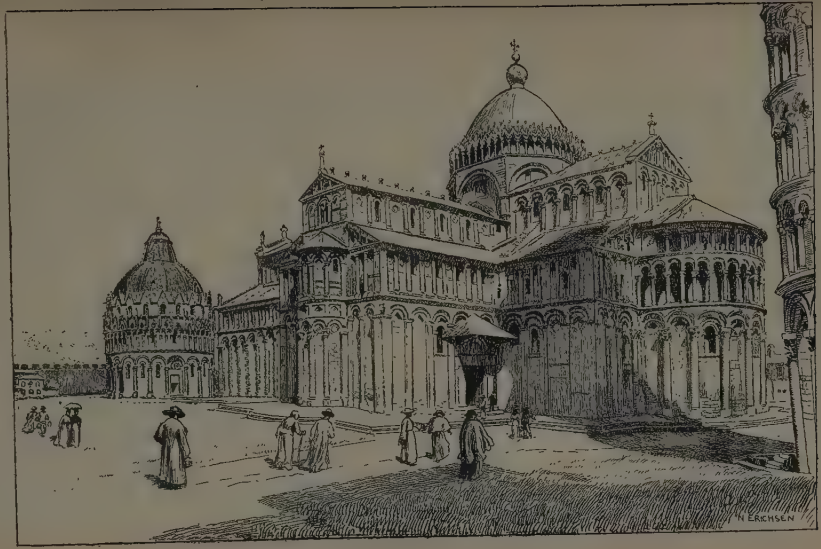
CHAPTER VII

"There is a sacred place within her walls
Sacred and silent, save when they that die
Come there to rest, and they that live, to pray,
For then are voices heard, crying to God,
Where yet remain, apart from all things else,
Four, such as nowhere on the earth are seen
Assembled."

—*Italy*. S. Rogers.

The Duomo, the Baptistery and the Leaning Tower

THE impression received on stepping out of the quiet Via Solferino into the Piazza del Duomo is almost startling. The contrast between the cool street with its sober architecture and the blaze of sunshine bathing the group of mighty buildings, that is in its way an almost unparalleled monument of human capacity, is not easily forgotten. A spot midway between Via Solferino and Via S. Maria is the best from which to take a first view of the scene. Considerably to the right the fairy-like Leaning Tower is seen, with its fret-work of arches broken into a complicated play of light and shade by the morning sun. Its tall shadow creeps stealthily along the ground, and up the imposing eastern apse of the neighbouring Duomo as though claiming kinship with that magnificent pile. Columns and pilasters of marble, of porphyry and alabaster; gates of wrought bronze, glittering mosaics and lavish arcades, give it an appearance of



THE DUOMO, BAPTISTERY AND PART OF LEANING TOWER

great splendour. The whole effect is redeemed from a tendency to squatness by the aspiring cupola and light crown of gothic arches. To the left of this again we catch a glimpse of the long low façade of the Campo Santo, broken only by a gothic tabernacle and one incongruous dome. Little does this modest exterior, which shrinks away behind its loftier companions, tell us of the treasures enclosed within. Last of all, the noble lines of the Baptistery cleave the sky. With its air of great distinction, the largeness of its conception and the variety of its ornamental devices, the other buildings pale before it. The grouping of building with building is very fine, though marred a little by the oblique lines of the Leaning Tower, which, as Dickens says, "certainly inclines as much as the most sanguine tourist could desire," and introduces a note of discord into the harmony of vertical lines. Once white, the colour of the whole group is now a pale gold or a delicate grey, contrasting brilliantly with the green-sward on which the buildings stand. In the morning light the picture takes on a peculiar radiance, accentuated by the diaphanous blue of its background of hills. During the festal seasons of the church the scene is enriched with gorgeous processions, that unite the Baptistery with the Cathedral by a long line of gold-clad priests and prelates. A daily feature is the hurrying stream of black cassocks and flying cloaks that pours across the green towards the Duomo at the hour of the offices. The faint pealing of the organ and the sound of many bells seem also a component part of the picture. So does the aromatic breath of incense, that emerges each time the doors are opened from the dim interior.

After the first shock of delight produced by this union of sunlight and architecture we begin to analyse the source of our pleasure, and we find something lack-

ing in this Pisan development of the Tuscan-Romanesque. It has neither the aspiration of the gothic style, nor the perfect proportion and balance of Renaissance work. There is, not to put too fine a point on it, something a trifle boorish about it, that suggests a rustic dressed up in the robes of a king. It appeals too much to the picturesque and not enough to fundamental excellence of design. Wonderful is the perfection and finish of its detail. Too wonderful

THE SILHOUETTE OF PISA FROM THE NORTH

indeed, for it suggests that the mind of the builder was possessed by a passion for splendid trifles, to the neglect of noble conceptions. In this case however we have, on the whole, the style at its best. Though we may be able to criticise individual points it is idle to deny that the whole effect is overwhelming. A better understanding of how the group of buildings dominates the city can be gained from afar. From whatever point we choose a distant view annihilates the mass of huddled houses and churches, and we see the Duomo, the Leaning Tower, and above all, the Baptistery, rising giant-like between the mountains and the plain. They represent Pisa, and in a sense they *are* Pisa.

The Duomo

The Duomo is a basilica of vast proportions. It is, on the whole, the most perfect specimen of Pisan-Romanesque. Indeed, it is the prototype of that style; not because it was the first church to include local deviations from the Tuscan-Romanesque, which were already common in Lucca, in Pisa, and in the hill-towns around them, but because it took all those floating deviations, crystallised them, and knit them into so characteristic and complete a form, as to give birth to a new style. So that, though we cannot believe, in looking at the elaborately worked-out architectural scheme, that it sprang spontaneously out of the brain of Buschetto and his fellow architects, we are forced to admit that there is enough of genius in the selection and combination of the already existing material to justify the above statement. Possibly, too, the fact that its builders were not Pisans may have diverted the development of the style into a new channel. Anyhow, whether that, or a natural evolution consequent on the character of the Pisan race, was the cause, it was so different from anything that had gone before that we are obliged to consider it as an independent creation.

Its plan is a latin cross, and it consists of a nave 312 feet long with double aisles; transepts, which also have aisles, and an apsidal choir. It is built almost entirely of white marble. Very little is now visible of the original structure owing to the ravages of the fire in 1595 and of the restoration which followed. The whole building is raised on a marble platform and is approached by steps, which adds much to its dignity. Alternating layers of black and white marble, and rich incrustations of mosaic, give it an air of opulent richness. Though built of ancient materials the east end,

with its lovely apse, probably only dates from the same year as the Leaning Tower (1174), the arcades in both being exactly alike. It is, however, more restrained and simple in style, and therefore much more beautiful. Incorporated in it are many interesting fragments of antiquity placed carelessly at any angle. Roman inscriptions are numerous, but some are upside down, others slant upwards or downwards, forcibly suggesting that the masons of the middle ages were unable to read. They are jostled by Byzantine knotted reliefs, Roman or mediæval carvings, the whole forming an irregular mosaic of great charm. Some of the windows are remarkably fine, and no doubt formed part of the original structure. Those on the right and left of the south door are especially attractive, the former with a seated Byzantine figure of King David with his harp against a background of curious inlaid marble. An early mediæval relief set up on end representing two ships entering the port of Pisa, forms one of the jambs. The latter window is surrounded by splendid slabs of green marble. A classic frieze and cornice form the architrave of the south door, and among the small shafts in the colonnade some are of rich porphyry or alabaster. Both in detail and in design the east end is much the most beautiful part of the Duomo. The transepts are among the longest in Europe (237 feet). They and the nave have the same fine arched colonnade as the apse and the campanile, with two panelled stories above. At the junction of the four arms is the elliptical dome with a delicate corona of gothic arches. Something in the character of its lines, together with the bulb on the top, suggests the east, and it may well, with other details, have been suggested by oriental models.

The culminating feature of the whole is the façade,

dating from 1250, on which every kind of decoration has been lavished. A colonnade of seven great arches with three doors dignifies the lower story, and above are four orders of small arcades, the first and the third of which follow the lines of the gable. Each arch is gracefully adorned with mouldings, while sculptured figures crown the angles. On the central pinnacle is a Madonna, a work of 1346, made to replace another which fell in a great earthquake a few years before. The two exquisite columns of the central door, wreathed all over with symmetrical flower designs in high relief, are certainly antique. Various interesting fragments and inscriptions are built into the façade. The tomb of Buschetto, formed by a sarcophagus let into the wall, is in the first arcade to the left. The first lines of the inscription on it having been misunderstood by Vasari gave rise to the erroneous belief that he was a Greek.[1] Between the first and the second door an inscription tells us that the first stone was laid in 1063, and above the central door is another commemorating the architect Rainaldo, sculptured in large letters. The epitaph of the Queen of Majorca

[1] Buschetto lies here who, in nimbleness of wit, is said to have surpassed the Dulichian[2] chief. The one craftily procured the downfall of the walls of Ilium; the wondrous walls you see come from the skill of the other. The clever chief harmed by his cleverness; the other was of service by his. A dark mansion was the Labyrinth; 'tis your claim to praise, Dædalus. But 'tis his own gleaming Temple that approves Buschetto. Without a parallel is the Temple of snow-white marble that is raised wholly by Buschetto's genius. When the enemy of the Temple tried to injure the things in his charge, he, by his own skill and forethought, was stronger than the enemy. The fame of the pillars of huge bulk which he dragged from the bottom of the sea raises him to the stars. When ten days remained before the end of September he joyfully quit his place of exile.

[2] *i.e.* Ulysses.

is interesting too. She and her son, it tells us, were brought here as prisoners after the conquest of the Balearic Islands, here she was baptised and here she died. Other inscriptions record victories gained over the Saracens in Palermo, in Sardinia, and in Africa. The Pisans, being vainglorious, loved to record their triumphs and, being pious, they made the front of their cathedral the chronicle of their prowess.

The dexterously uninteresting bronze doors were designed in 1602 by Gian Bologna, and carried out by his pupils Mocchi, Tacca, and Francavilla, to replace the ancient ones by Bonanno that perished in the fire. The brazen gates of the south entrance attributed to Bonanno, but possibly even earlier in date, fortunately escaped. They are primitive but fine and decorative works, with twenty-four panels representing stories from the gospel in an archaic but very successful and pleasant way. By this door the cathedral is usually entered, and the first impression of majestic vastness is most imposing. The dim mysterious light, the forest of pillars, the ever-changing perspective, the mass of colour, the mosaics, the paintings and the sculpture, form a rich picture, and make one understand the love the Pisans have always felt for their Duomo.

A longer examination reveals a number of interesting works of art though so many perished, or were damaged, by the fall of the roof during the fire. Among them, alas, was the pulpit, in which Giovanni Pisano competed, and not unsuccessfully, with his father Niccolò; the greatest masterpiece probably of the Pisan school of sculpture.[1] Of the four hundred and fifty columns scattered all over the interior, some date back to Roman Pisa, while many others formed part of the booty brought from Sardinia, Giglio, and

[1] The fragments are in the Museo Civico.

Elba. Twenty-four huge and impressive monoliths of red granite support the roof. Above the round arches that they sustain is another story of smaller ones which forms the triforium, intended originally for the women's gallery. This is continued across the transepts, an unusual arrangement that is probably eastern in origin. The cupola is solidly planted on four great pointed arches that rest on piers at the intersection of the nave and the transepts. Most of the capitals are antique, but some have been stuccoed over; the others are mediæval and are decorated with the animals and *intrecci*, or plaited patterns, identified by some authorities with the Comacine Builders. Although incongruous, the blue and gold coffered roof is very beautiful. It dates from the restoration, and is the work of Benedetto Cioli of Florence. The great mosaic *Majestas* in the vaulting of the apse, which represents, on a vast scale, the Saviour enthroned between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, is usually pointed out as the one authentic work of Cimabue, the father of Tuscan painting, but this is true to a limited extent only. It appears that Francesco di Simone di Porta a Mare, a Pisan painter, began the Majestas, but for some reason was unable to complete it. He ceased work on July 8, 1301, and Cimabue took his place, beginning work on August 30 of the same year, and continuing until January 20, 1302. Of Francesco's numerous assistants he only employed two, a certain Turretto, and later Vanne da Firenze. During that time he produced the greater part, if not the whole of the figure of the Evangelist, for which he received five lire and ten soldi. A careful examination of the figure bears out the documentary evidence. It differs considerably from those of Christ and the Virgin, is nobler in conception and much less Byzantine in manner. Some years elapsed before the work was

finally completed, if we may believe a lost inscription quoted by Vasari, according to which Vicino, or Vincino, began and finished the Madonna and finished the figures of Christ and S. John, begun by others, bringing the whole to a close in September 1321. Restored as it was by Domenico Ghirlandaio in 1493, and again after the fire of 1595, to say nothing of more recent patching, so little of the original remains that it is impossible to speak with greater exactitude as to the limits of the work of the different masters employed. As a whole, the Majestas is perhaps more big than great, the excessively large scale being destructive of illusion, but in spite of the inflated look of the figure, the Christ-type shows some signs of regeneration, being without the haggard, scowling expression so usual at that time.[1]

The mosaics of the south transept, a *Madonna* and saints, and those in the north transept, an *Annunciation*, are by some follower of Cimabue, and have both suffered greatly from restoration.

Greatness has been thrust upon the twelve altars of the nave and transept by the tradition that attributes them to Michelangelo. In reality they are the work of Stagi of Pietrasanta, and of good but not remarkable design. The high altar, a magnificent mass of lapis-lazuli, pink marble and gilding, is tasteless and overloaded, for all its wealth of rich material.

The Nave.—Beginning from the entrance,[2] the two fine holy-water stoups on the right and left, with bronze statues of Christ and S. John the Baptist, are the work of Baccio Bandinelli.

On the three faces of a pilaster to the immediate

[1] See *Notizie di Artisti Pisani*, L. Tanfani Centofanti, for the documents relating to the Majestas.

[2] The entrance always means the west door, right and left the right and left of the spectator.

right of the entrance is a fairly well-preserved fresco attributed to the Pisan painter Bernardo Nello di Giovanni Falconi, a work of the fourteenth century. The left face of the pilaster has a nearly full-length figure of *S. John the Baptist*; the front, a *Crucifixion*, with the Virgin, S. John the Evangelist and S. Mary Magdalene, who clasps the foot of the Cross in frantic grief. Out of the summit of the Cross springs the tree of life among whose branches rests the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. Two angels hover near. The figure of the crucified Christ is feeble, the hands and feet are badly drawn. The right face of the pilaster has full-length figures of *SS. Cosimo and Damiano*. The whole work is a mediocre one, but is interesting as indicating how the walls were decorated before the fire. A fine bronze candelabrum stands close by, the gift of a certain Alessandro Tibanteo, a Pisan, as is stated in the inscription.

After the fire most of the tombs were removed into the Campo Santo. Some of the few that were left in the Duomo are still on the west wall, that of Archbishop Rinuccini (d. 1582), with a bronze Christ, is on the right of the entrance, together with that of Archbishop Frosini; that of Archbishop Giuliano de' Medici (d. 1660) on the left. The great bronze lamp with its circle of *putti*, at the junction of the nave and the dome, is a beautiful and characteristic Florentine work by Vincenzo Possenti. It is usually said that in watching its oscillations the youthful Galileo evolved the theory of the pendulum. But the date of his discovery was 1581, while Possenti's lamp was not hung in the cathedral until December 20, 1587. Either, then, we must conclude that the story is a pretty fable, or the lamp referred to was an earlier one.

Most of the altarpieces are works of the sixteenth

century of small value, while the walls between the altars are covered with immense and worthless historical pictures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which do much to spoil the general effect of the interior, with their gloomy or garish, and undecorative colour. Many of them represent scenes from the life of S. Torpè and other Pisan worthies. Above the third altar on the right is a *Madonna Enthroned* with SS. Francis, Bartholemew, and Jerome, the infant S. John the Baptist, and a putto, attributed to Andrea del Sarto, but really the work of Sogliani, a weak and poor picture with a kind of faded charm. The Madonna, seated on a very high throne in a pink dress, is relieved against the blue sky, and a landscape with a hill-village. The little S. John holds out a long cross to S. Jerome kneeling in the foreground. Over the fourth altar on the right is a marble sarcophagus, containing the bodies of SS. Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Abibo, brought to Pisa in 1100 after the conquest of Jerusalem. "No words can express," writes the chronicler, "the joy with which the victors hailed their native land, and that with which the Pisans received them. Hardly had their unfurled banners caught the breeze as they approached the banks of the Arno, than all was merriment. The spoil taken from the enemy was displayed in seemly order on the deck of a ship. Much precious treasure was there, among it the bodies of the saints Nicodemus, prince of the Pharisees; Gamaliel, the schoolmaster of S. Paul; and Abibo, one of the seventy disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, sent to Pisa by Archbishop Daimbert and Godfrey, king of Jerusalem." The relief above the altar representing the Trinity is the first work of Ammanati. On the pier to the left is a *Madonna and Child*, almost certainly by Sogliani, of graceful design, but of

heavy and opaque workmanship. The corresponding pier has a S. Agnes, attributed to Andrea del Sarto, and undoubtedly designed but not painted by him. The figure is almost identical with that of his Madonna at Poppi. It represents a graceful, rather meaningless young girl, clasping a lamb, and belongs to the very end of Andrea's career. On another face of the same pier is a fourteenth-century fresco of S. Jerome.

Among the chief beauties of the nave are the exquisite *intarsia panels*, by Giovanni Battista Cervellieri. He was born in Pisa in 1489, and records exist of payments made to him for intarsia work in the Duomo from 1522 to 1542. Among his many assistants were Bartolommeo da Ruosina; Maestro Michele di Giovanni delle Spagnole; Francione, and his assistants Baccio Pontelli, another Spaniard, and Giuliano da Majano. In all there are forty-seven panels, but many of them are not by Cervellieri. His work suffered greatly during the fire, and the surviving panels were eked out by others adorned with conventional foliage, the monogram of the Opera del Duomo, the Cross of the Commune, and the date 1616, which no doubt indicates the year when the reconstruction was made. The following are by Cervellieri:—On the right, No. 3, a *Patriarch* in a niche, with a scroll inscribed *Ve qui condunt Leg.*; No. 6, a *Patriarch*, with a scroll inscribed *Benedicam Benedicat*; No. 11, *Mathematics*, an allegorical figure with an angular nimbus, holding a tablet with numbers; No. 14, a young *Deacon*, seated; No. 19, a *Landscape* representing the walls of Pisa and numerous mediæval towers, an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the ancient city; and No. 22, a *Street in Pisa*. On the left, No. 27, *Medicine*, an allegorical female figure, holding a scorpion and a book in one hand and an

olive branch in the other; No. 30, *Astronomy*, an allegorical figure, pointing to the sky with the right hand and holding an orrery in the left; No. 35, an allegorical figure of *Geometry*, with compasses in one hand; No. 38, an allegorical figure with a tower, one hand on the head of a kneeling child, perhaps *Architecture* or Fortification; No. 43, *David*, with psaltery and crown, holding a scroll inscribed *Laudete Püi Dominus*; No. 45, the *Decollation of S. John the Baptist*, with the Holy Ghost above, a spacious composition with a number of small figures, the executioner dressed like a German *lanzknecht*; the technique is quite different, and it is obviously by another hand.

The bishop's throne opposite to the pulpit is Cervellieri's greatest triumph, and one of the most beautiful productions of the art of intarsia. In the central panel is a *Presepio and Adoration of the Magi*, a fine composition with a great expanse of sky and ruins. To the right and left of this are smaller panels representing a chalice, a landscape seen through a loggia, a parrot, a bunch of grapes and another landscape seen through a loggia, and a bishop's mitre. The seat that surrounds the square pier on the left is also by Cervellieri. In front and at the back are two lovely *heads of boys* reading, and a *landscape* with an old battlemented house and loggie. The similar seat round the right pier has two exquisitely graceful figures, *Charity*, a burning heart in her right hand, clasping a child to her breast with the other; and *Faith*, a woman praying. These are undoubtedly by Cervellieri, but the *Assumption* is by another hand. The technique of Cervellieri's work is simple and noble, faces and drapery being represented by incised lines on comparatively large pieces of wood, patterns and detail inlaid with tiny pieces. The designs, whether his or not, are graceful and accomplished.

In the right transept, over the first altar to the right, is a *Madonna* by Sogliani, and three groups of graceful *putti* higher up on the same wall painted by Pierin del Vaga as an experiment in fresco.

The gorgeous chapel of S. Ranieri, Protector of Pisa, extends across the end of the right transept. Originally built from the designs of Ugolino or Lino da Siena, a pupil of Giovanni Pisano, it was afterwards altered. Its splendour testifies to the veneration in which S. Ranieri was held by the Pisans. Some of the bas-reliefs are by Ugolino, but Mosca da Settignano is the author of the statues of the Virgin, of the Almighty, and of the Saviour. That of S. Potitus is said somewhat doubtfully to be an antique statue of Mars adapted; that of S. Ephesus is by Lorenzi. The relics of S. Ranieri lie in a sarcophagus of serpentine, placed on a base of red granite. The saint's body is clad in a dress that is penitential in form, but woven of cloth-of-gold, and on his head is a rich crown. The Duomo is crowded on his feast-day, June 17, when the body is exposed to the veneration of the faithful.

Born of the noble family of the Scaccieri about the year 1100, Ranieri grew up with little thought for anything but self-indulgence. Vain, dissolute and material, he hurried from feast to feast, enslaved by the pleasures of the world. At last there came a day when the things of the spirit were revealed to him. Gorgeously dressed and flushed with feasting, he was roaming through the city, playing his psaltery and singing loose songs to the light and beautiful damsels who accompanied him. As he sang a holy man passed by, all unheeded by Ranieri, and turning looked on him with pity. One of the damsels, more sober-minded than the rest, plucked Ranieri by the sleeve saying: "did'st thou not see that angel of the Lord who passed but now? It was the man of God, Alberto, who speaks

the words of eternal life, for which sake many follow him. Leave all these vanities, even thou, and follow him likewise." Struck with sudden shame the young man threw down his psaltery and followed swiftly after the saint, tears pouring from his eyes. His easy, pleasant life now seemed horrible to him, his sins unpardonable. Falling at the feet of the holy hermit he bewailed himself, crying out: "Father, father, what shall I do." His penitence was passionate and abiding, and so many were the hot tears he shed that in a little while he became quite blind. Seeing their erstwhile comely son thus afflicted his parents were inconsolable. His mother cried aloud refusing to be comforted; his father in a frenzy of grief rent his garments. For their sakes did Ranieri put up a humble petition to heaven that his sight might be restored, which thing by a miracle instantly came to pass.

Calmed by the consolations of Alberto, Ranieri earnestly desired to offer to God the rest of a life whose beginning had been so grievous. In doubt as to the best way of doing so he was walking one day near the church of S. Pietro in Vincolis. Suddenly it seemed to him that he beheld an eagle in the eastward sky bearing a flaming torch in its beak. The bird flew towards him and hovering over his head cried out: "I come from Jerusalem to bring thee this light by whose power thou shalt enlighten many men and lead those in distant lands to the holy faith. Take it." Then Ranieri saw a vision of multitudes of people sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.

After this intimation of the Divine will he hesitated no longer but took ship for the Holy Land, his heart burning to become one of the spiritual knights of God by assuming the hair shirt of the pilgrim, only given to those who visit the holy Hill of Calvary. Landing in Joppa he went on to Jerusalem. When he visited the

church of the Holy Sepulchre it grieved him sorely that he could not understand the language in which the Holy Office was being celebrated; Greek or Syrian. So ardently did he long for understanding that it came to him miraculously, and he joined the others in the prayers.

Ever haunted by his evil past he wandered into the desert places of Palestine and abode there twenty years, leading an austere and charitable life. He ate bread mingled with ashes and drank only pure water, fasting often, and performing arduous and frequent pilgrimages. And yet all these mortifications were in vain. His heart was ever filled with heaviness. But comfort came at last to his humble soul. He seemed, in a vision, to see the bodily presence of the Saviour and to hear His voice. His Lord bade him deliver his soul from worldly cares, sell all his goods and follow only Him. Then at last Ranieri understood. With joy in his heart he distributed his possessions to the poor and wrote to his sister in Pisa, endowing her with the patrimonial estates which had descended to him on his father's death. At last he was free and happy, and glorified God with a pure heart.

Now it was nigh unto the season of the Nativity when Ranieri went into the city of Tyre to keep the feast in the church of S. Mary the Virgin, and there a seal was set on his happiness. Absorbed in contemplation, after receiving the Holy Mysteries, he noted two angels of grave aspect clad in white raiment. Holding out their hands they led him into the presence of the Queen of Heaven, who sat enthroned in the midst of a numberless band of maidens. In a gentle voice she spoke to him, bidding him not to fear: "Be happy, Ranieri, thou shalt rest in my bosom"; meaning thereby the great church which the Pisans had built in her honour.

He still, however, longed for the hair shirt of the pilgrim and so he returned to Jerusalem, and on Good Friday assumed the much-desired habit which he never afterwards laid aside. After that a desire seized him to see his native land and he went home to Pisa in 1154. A great reception awaited him. "He was visited," writes Tronci, "by all the citizens, even by the Archbishop, who was very desirous to see him." His first act was to return thanks in the Duomo for his voyage. The Canons received him with much honour and reverence, entertaining him at a splendid banquet. Thence he went to S. Andrea di Chinsica to visit the grave of his mother Mingarda. After praying at her tomb with many tears, he preached to the people, recounting all that had befallen him since he had left Pisa and bidding them turn to God. Then he withdrew to the monastery of S. Vito, where he spent the remaining years of his life in humble thanksgiving and gentle deeds. His early biographers record the many miracles performed by him. He healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, caused the lame to walk and cast out devils, so that even the most obstinate were converted. "At last," writes Tronci again, "in the year of our salvation, 1161, Ranieri obtained that crown of glory in Paradise the blest to which his goodness had entitled him." He died quietly on the night of Friday, June 17, and at the moment of his passing the bells of S. Vito rang out without the touch of mortal man, and were answered by all the bells of Pisa in like manner. Then the people, rising in alarm, took everyone his way to S. Vito. Finding their beloved saint dead they were filled with passionate sorrow, taking his dead corpse often in their arms and kissing it with reverence. On the following Sunday they bore him to the Duomo with pomp and lamentation, and there laid him in a marble tomb. On the day of his death Archbishop

Villano, who had lain sick and bedridden for two years, was miraculously cured. To the astonishment of all he rose and went to the Duomo to say mass, when, instead of chanting the Requiem, he sang the mass of the Nativity of Our Lord, with the Gloria in Excelsis.

Many and great were the miracles performed at the sepulchre of Ranieri, and therefore he was approved a saint by Holy Church.

Passing the east door we arrive at the altar of S. Biagio, or Blasius, which has a graceful statue of the saint by Tribolo. In front of it stands a holy water stoup, which, though not in the finest Florentine manner, is yet a very pleasant work. The little Madonna in the centre is obviously not by Michelangelo as the cicerones persist in saying. It is by Stagi.

The *Choir and Tribune* suffered less from the fire than any other part of the cathedral. On the great arch are frescoes representing *Groups of angels*. Originally painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio, they have lost all traces of his touch by repeated repaintings. To the right and left of the high altar are four of the most attractive pictures in the Duomo, *SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Catherine of Alexandria*, and *Margaret*. They are attributed to Andrea del Sarto and are obviously designed, though not painted, by him. Indeed the Uffizi possesses a study by his hand for the legs and hands of the Baptist, a drawing belonging to his latest period. The painting, by one of his pupils, is light and transparent, the colouring of the female saints beautiful, particularly the glowing venetian-red robe of S. Margaret. Behind the high altar on either side are the four *Evangelists* in separate panels, larger than life, hard and opaque in manner, and like the succeeding panels the undoubted work of Beccafumi. These are the *Destruction of Sodom, Moses breaking the*

Tables of the Law, *the Death of Dathan and Abiram*, two half-length panels of *Saints*, and *Moses striking the rock*. His manner in these, which were painted in 1536, 1538, and 1539, has a curious affinity to that of Tintoretto, though without his genius and splendid swiftness. In the midst of these is the *Deposition from the Cross* by Sodoma, which, although considerably darkened, is a very fine work. The composition, containing nine life-size figures, is carefully studied, remarkably free from exaggeration, and full of feeling. None of the poses are at all academic, none of the faces empty. Those of Christ and of the fainting Virgin are particularly fine, and the red glow on the horizon is very effective. It dates from about the same time as his picture in the Museo Civico and was finished on May 5, 1540.[1] To the left of it is his *Sacrifice of Isaac*.[2] Here the figure of Abraham is exaggerated and that of Isaac carelessly drawn. But in spite of this the picture as a whole is delightful, especially the landscape with its soft haze. It has a singular likeness to the work of Burne-Jones. Taken to Paris in 1811 by Napoleon, it was returned three years later unharmed. On the right of the Descent from the Cross is a panel by Sogliani, the *Sacrifice of Noah*, painted in 1531. It is a third-rate decadent picture and suggests Fra Bartolommeo in the technique. The same remarks apply to his *Sacrifice of Cain* and *Sacrifice of Abel*, which are close by.

In front of the *Cantorie*, or singing galleries, on each side of the high altar, are six marble reliefs, four of which are by a follower of Giovanni Pisano, the

[1] It cost the Opera del Duomo 80 ducats, and 50 lire and 12 soldi in addition, because ultramarine blue had risen in value.—*Notizie, etc.* Tanfani, p. 272.

[2] On July 23, 1541, it was agreed that he was to have 274 lire for his work and 74 for ultramarine.—*Ibid.*

Nativity, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Presentation in the Temple*, and the *Flight into Egypt*. They follow Giovanni's method and the Nativity and Adoration are weak, but almost exact, copies of the corresponding subjects in his pulpit. The two centre panels, one representing the *Annunciation*, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the naming of S. John the Baptist, the other the *Damned at the Last Judgment*, are portions of Giovanni's wonderful pulpit. Treated with intense passion and movement, and with strong touches of romanticism, they are intricate but extraordinarily fascinating. The great crucifix over the high altar is by Gian Bologna, as are the two bronze angels on the parapet of the choir that form the candelabra (1600). An interesting relic of the booty brought home by the Pisan crusaders from Jerusalem is the porphyry column supporting a vase of the same stone, that stands on the right side of the high altar. "It is said," we read in an old Pisan chronicle, "that this vase is one of those in which water was converted into wine at the marriage feast of Cana by our Saviour." Opposite to it is another porphyry column on which is a bronze angel by Stoldi Lorenzi, pupil of Gian Bologna.

The intarsia work of the choir stalls is almost as beautiful as that in the nave. It is chiefly the work of Guido da Serravallina, Domenico di Mariotto, and Lorenzo di Michele Spagnolo, who worked here from 1478 to 1545, but the series of Patriarchs, Evangelists, Apostles, minor Prophets and Saints, in the outer row of stalls seems to be by Cervellieri, as is the archbishop's throne. The rest of the outer row is decorated with still-life and landscape panels, one of the latter representing the old Ponte a Mare with its crenellated walls, and another the same bridge with the old arsenal and the Torre Guelfa. The inner row has panels with animals, musical instruments, birds and architecture,

including a view of the Baptistery and the Porta al Leone with its lost tower; the Duomo, its eastern gable still crowned with the bronze hippogrif; and the Leaning Tower.

Over the altar in the chapel to the left of the high altar is the famous *Madonna Sotto gli Organi*, a miracle-working Byzantine icon which was carried in procession when Charles VIII. declared the freedom of Pisa from the Florentine yoke. It is only unveiled when the city is in grave danger or distress.

The Sacristy contains one of the most precious objects in Pisa, a small ivory statue of the *Virgin and Child* by Giovanni Pisano. The tiny work is extremely beautiful. Our Blessed Lady leans back to support the weight of the Christ-child on her arm, and gazes at Him in rapture, her dress caught up in simple lovely folds. The Child holds out the orb of the universe with a royal gesture. It is full of large and noble qualities. But apart from its beauty, the statuette has an independent value in the history of art as an important link in the chain of evidence connecting the art of Tuscany with that of France. So close is the imitation, though without a trace of servility, of some French ivory Madonna, that we are no longer in doubt through what channel the Tuscan sculptors obtained their Gothic inspiration. It must have been from these ivory statuettes imported into Italy together with French costumes and Provençal songs.[1] Giovanni's great Madonna in the Campo Santo is as closely related to this ivory statuette as the statuette itself to some unknown French original. The Sacristy also possesses two extremely fine gilt-copper and enamel Byzantine *Reliquaries* of the eleventh century, and the *Croce dei Pisani*, a small crucifix which the Pisans took to the first crusade.

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, new edition. i. 34, *n.* 2*.

The North Transept.—In the wall to the right is the fine modern tomb of Archbishop d'Elci, with cherubims and statues by Vacca. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament at the end has a curious life-size relief of Adam and Eve by Mosca of Semignano. The simplicity of the early treatment is conspicuously absent in this self-conscious work, but it is well composed and decorative. The serpent in the tree has the head of a beautiful woman, in accordance with the rabbinical traditions adopted by the Tuscan painters. The altar, with its silver monstrance designed by Foggino, was the gift of Cosimo III., and was twice redeemed at great cost from the French during their occupation of the city. Near the meeting of the transept and the nave are two white marble fluted columns, said to have belonged to the palace of Hadrian on the site of which the Duomo was supposed to have been built, thus bringing us back in the end, as in the beginning, to a remote antiquity.

The Duomo is as characteristic in its history as in its architecture. With their concrete minds the Pisans naturally expressed their glory in terms of stone and marble. The eleventh century raised them to the rank of one of the greatest maritime powers in the world. The spoils of conquered lands poured into their city and, being pious as well as material they resolved that the great temple they intended to adorn with them should be dedicated to the glory of God, as well as to the glory of Pisa. Ready to their hand lay the nucleus of a cathedral that had been begun as early as 1006 but had languished in its growth, beset with difficulties from the outset. Although the highest ground near the city the spot chosen for its site was practically a swamp, but it was hallowed to the citizens as the site of the ancient church of S. Reparata in Palude, in the swamp, and by their belief that here had stood a great palace or

temple in the time of the Emperor Hadrian. So, undaunted by the difficulties of making a solid foundation in the moist and shifting soil, they struggled on year after year until 1032, when the work came almost to a standstill.

This was the position when in 1063, after the conquest of Palermo, the Pisans deliberately set to work to raise a Mother-Church that should be worthy of them and outshine any other in the world. The half-achieved plans were enlarged, the languid progress quickened. Buschetto was appointed architect of the new building. As already stated he was long believed to be a Greek, but we now know he was an Italian. An existing document, written in Ripafratta, December 2, 1105, mentions Buschetto, "son of Giovanni the late judge," among the four Operai of the Duomo of Pisa. He was not a Pisan, and it would seem as if at that time the mother-city could claim no architects of her own. Associated with him was one Rainaldo as we read on the façade, and a certain Ildebrando. Buschetto was probably the author of the body of the church and of the lower part of the façade, Rainaldo of nearly all the rest.

The first stone was solemnly laid on Lady Day 1063, and six ship-loads of columns, bronzes, gold and precious stones were set aside for the adornment of the new cathedral. Generous gifts came from the Emperor Henry IV. and from the great Countess Matilda, while Pope Urban II. contributed to its glory by creating the See an archbishopric. The work was so vigorously pushed on that the cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin of the Assumption, Magnificent Queen of the Universe, Ever Virgin, Most Worthy Mother of God, Advocate of sinners, was ready for consecration as early as 1118. Fortunately for the Pisans a Sovereign Pontiff was present in their city

at that moment. Fleeing from the wrath of the Frangipani and his other rebellious subjects in Rome, Gelasius II., with a following of six cardinals and many nobles and clerics, reached Pisa on September 2. The citizens vied with each other in lavishing tokens of welcome upon him, and resolved that no lesser hand than his should perform the consecrating office for their glorious church. Preparations on the vastest scale were made for the solemn rite. On September 26, says the chronicler, Pisa was a sea of people. The Pope was supported by the cardinals and bishops in his train, by the bishops and clergy of Tuscany, the greater part of the bishops of Sardinia, and by a goodly throng of canons, priors, priests and deacons, from Lucca. "Not only were there great numbers of laymen present but multitudes of women," says a chronicler. "With such splendour did Pope Gelasius offer the new temple to Him, who with His own hands did make Him a temple, to wit the Universe."

After this outburst of enthusiasm the popular interest in the Duomo diminished, and the great structure was not completed until the thirteenth century, when the cupola was added.

Held in high honour from the beginning, the Duomo has been the scene of innumerable noble and stately ceremonies connected with the life of the city. The footsteps of popes and emperors, saints and poets, have echoed within its walls. Among the great dead laid to rest under its roof was Gregory VIII., whose short pontificate ended in Pisa. After assuming the triple crown at Ferrara he set forth with the intention of healing the discords of the Christian princes and turning their hearts towards the liberation of Jerusalem. Genoa and Pisa were of special importance, because of their maritime power, to his

projected crusade. Once reconciled there would be no difficulty in persuading them to send a great united fleet of galleys to the east. So to Pisa he went, and had all but attained his desired object when he suddenly fell ill and died within a week of his arrival. "Truly mournful was the day," writes a chronicler, "on which magistrates and patricians, citizens and people, all clad in sad-coloured raiment and drowned in tears, accompanied the venerable corpse to its resting-place in a tomb within the Mother-Church." Hard upon this sombre scene followed the election of the new pope in the Duomo. The conclave was held on January 6, 1187, the feast of the Epiphany. Its deliberations were short, for the coronation of Clement III. took place the very next day.

The greater festivals of the church were celebrated with unusual pomp and splendour, especially the feast of the Assumption. Tronci describes the festival of the year 1293. "The Elders," he says, "were wont to announce it in this wise: Twenty horses, covered with scarlet cloth worked with the device of the Commune, went forth bearing twenty youths clad in rich and curious raiment. The two first carried banners, one being of the Commune, the other of the People. Two had silver lances inlaid with gold with the Imperial eagle on the points, while two more bore living eagles with golden crowns on their wrists. The others followed in a company decked out in most rich liveries. The trumpeters of the Commune followed after with their silver drums, flutes and instruments of divers sounds, and proclaimed the *Palii* that were to be contested on land and on water. The first prize on land was a great palio or banner of red velvet lined with vair and embroidered with an eagle of silver, and this was given to the barb that first reached the goal. The second

received a silken banner of the value of thirty golden florins, but to the third was given in jest a pair of geese and a bunch of garlic. On the water the race was rowed in small galiots, or in brigantines, and he who first reached the goal won a bull covered with scarlet cloth and fifty scudi, the second a piece of silk worth twenty golden florins, while the third had nothing but geese and garlic.

"On the first day of August banners were placed upon each tower in the city, on everyone three. The first banner had the Imperial eagle, the second the device of the Commune, the third that of the People. The like was done on the cupola, frontispiece and angles of the Duomo, on S. Giovanni, on the Campo Santo and on the campanile, banners flying not only on the summit, but from all the colonnades. Others were to be seen on all the churches of the city, and on all the palaces, to wit the Palazzo Publico, the Palazzo del Podestà, the palace of the Capitano del Conservatore, of the Pacifico Stato, of the Consuls of the Sea, and of the merchants and the seven guilds. The *contado* followed the example of the city, and thus it continued throughout the month of August. All the people of every condition made great rejoicings and banquets, to which foreigners were especially invited.

"At the first vespers of the feast the Elders went to the Duomo in state, having before them damsels dressed in new finery, followed by the trumpeters, by the captain and his troop and the lesser magistrates. The Duomo reached, the archbishop, vested in his pontificals, began to sing the solemn vespers. When they were ended a young man mounted the pulpit and recited a prayer in praise of the most glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Then were matins sung, and these finished the procession walked round the church, being joined by all the com-

panies and the regulars, every man carrying in his hand a lighted candle of wax weighing half a pound. The clergy, canons and archbishop, followed bearing lighted tapers of greater weight, and last of all came the Elders, the Podestà, the Captain, the other magistrates, the representatives of the guilds and all the people, also holding lighted candles in their hands. The procession over every man went his own way to see the illuminations, bonfires and feasts, that were made in every part of the city.

"On the morning of the feast wax torches were placed on *trabacche*, of which there were more than sixty, borne with great pomp by young lads dressed in livery. Close behind followed the Elders, the Podestà, the Captain, the other magistrates, the officers and the people; the troop of horse, richly dressed, and the companies of foot. After a little space came the guilds, each man bearing a great, gaily painted torch, accompanied by the wind instruments. A thing sweet to hear and most fair to see. The offering of the torches made, they came forth and accompanied the silver girdle borne with great pomp on a car; all the clergy walking in procession, with exquisite music both of voices and of instruments. The accustomed ceremonies being ended they girded the whole Duomo, fastening the girdle to the iron hooks fixed in the walls to this end. This girdle was of great price and of such beauty that men spake of it throughout the whole world, so that the people came to see it from many a city of Italy."[1]

Another old writer says that it was "a great girdle of silver-gilt having figures in relief, with stones and pearls worked upon scarlet, and a round clasp of silver with precious stones and pearls, of the weight of

[1] *Annali Pisani*, Tronci, iii. p. 45 *et seq.*

eight pounds and four ounces, on which is carved the Coronation of the Virgin."[1]

Again in 1315 the gates of the Duomo opened to receive the dust of kings. The Pisans were plunged into mourning by the sudden death, in 1313, of the Emperor Henry VII., on whom, as the representative of the ghibelline cause, all their hopes had been centred. By the might of his arm they had hoped to be exalted above all other Tuscan states, and had aided him with vast contributions of men and money. When by his death all their sacrifices were thrown away and all their hopes proved vain, "they made piteous moan," writes Villani, "while the Florentines, Sienese, Lucchesi and those of the league, rejoiced exceedingly." Another chronicler says, "their grief was such that, being unable to wreak their revenge on others, they fell on the inhabitants of Buonconvento and ravaged and destroyed all their castles. Then taking possession of Henry's body they embalmed it, placed it in a coffin, and, following the road through the Maremma, bore it to Pisa. Most solemn and magnificent obsequies were performed for the dead Emperor, whose body was then placed in a splendid tomb of marble, which can even now be seen in our Mother-Church on the left hand of the chapel of the most holy Coronation of the Virgin Mary."[2] This account omits to explain that the Emperor's body lay for two years in the church of Suvereto, awaiting the completion of his tomb.

Another side of mediæval life was often seen in the

[1] *Memorie inedite inturno la Vita e i dipinti di Francesco Traini*, Bonaini. This description tallies perfectly with the fragment of the girdle preserved in the Museo Civico, Sala 1, No. 4.

[2] *Cronica di Pisa*, Muratori xv. 986 The tomb now stands in the Campo Santo.

Duomo. Every misfortune, such as plague and flood, called forth an outburst of passionate devotion and penitence, one of whose most important manifestations was the formation of companies of discipline. That these were numerous in Pisa is testified by the inscriptions on their burial-places in the Campo Santo. Often and often they must have passed through the Duomo with covered faces singing their mournful hymns, the scourge ready in their hand for the self-inflicted discipline. But some companies had gentler ways of showing their repentance, the Bianchi of Lucca for instance who visited the Duomo in 1389. The plague had again broken out, and a wave of religious enthusiasm swept over Tuscany. Men and women, high and low, dressed in long white linen robes (hence their name of *Bianchi*) and hoods with holes for their eyes went from town to town in processions which lasted nine days, singing lauds and crying out *pacie, pacie, misericordia.* Lucca was one of the chief centres of enthusiasm, and on August 23 many hundreds started from thence for Nozzano, where they were met by five hundred other devotees. In pouring rain they proceeded to Pisa and were welcomed by the friars minor, who helped them to dry their clothes. Next day they went in procession through Pisa to the Duomo where they heard mass, at which the archbishop assisted, and to him was given six *doppioni.* Having received his benediction and kissed the blood of S. Clemente, everyone, male and female, offered to the said blood two *doppioni,* and again they went in procession.[1] On the Piazza of Pisa they met the Pisan procession which ended that day; the crucifix of Lucca passing through the Borgo on one side until it reached the Ponte Vecchio, where it stopped until the people of Pisa and their proces-

[1] For an account of the blood of S. Clemente, see p. 380.

sion had passed, they going to the Duomo by the other side of the street. That the honour paid by the Pisans to the crucifix may be known, I relate how all the Pisans carrying crucifixes and crosses in their procession came and embraced those who carried the crucifix of Lucca. And the joy and fervent love was such that all wept. Thus the people of Pisa with devotion witnessed the procession of the Lucchesi, and likewise those of Lucca saw that of the Pisans, of whom more than 10,000 were in the white habit. They having passed the Lucchesi visited S. Pietro a Grado, and then returning to Pisa went to the abbey of S. Donnino, where bread and wine and other eatables were sent in such abundance by the Commune of Pisa that the whole company was satisfied." [1]

Equally magnificent or interesting were countless other ceremonies performed in the Duomo, but all were brought to an abrupt close by the great fire in 1591 that threatened its very existence. Caused by the carelessness of a workman, it did serious damage to the roof and to the interior. Steps were immediately taken by the Grand Duke Ferdinando I. to restore the Duomo as far as possible to its original splendour. The works were begun in 1602, and on their completion the cathedral assumed its present aspect.

The Baptistery

" . . . quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni
Fatti per luogo de' battezzatori."
—*Inferno*, Dante, xix. 16, 17, 18.

When Dante talked of "my beauteous San Giovanni" he meant, of course, the Baptistery of Florence, but his words apply with equal or greater

[1] *Le Croniche de Giovanni Sercambi*, ii. 361 *et seq.*

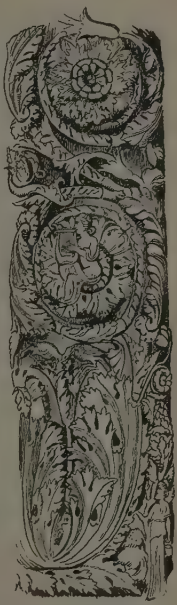
force to the superb structure raised by the Pisans. The Duomo had been designed to surpass any other in the world, and they determined that the Baptistery should be worthy to stand by its side. Surely it may be said that they succeeded in their aim. Certainly the most beautiful of the "four fabrics" of Pisa, it is perhaps the most beautiful Baptistery in Christendom. Its great bell-like form rises proudly into the air dwarfing the mighty city walls and spurning, as it were, the lawn from which it springs. A little isolated from the other buildings it yet belongs to the same group and gains additional beauty from the mingling of its lines with theirs. Very simple in form, it is almost riotous in the luxuriance of its ornamentation. Not quite, however, because of the refinement and perfection of every detail. Neither form nor decoration are as they were first conceived. Both are the work of two minds, two periods and two styles.

Diotisalvi, the builder of S. Sepolcro, designed it.[1] He intended to encircle it with three plain arcades, and to crown it, not with a dome, but with an angular pyramid, not unlike the one he had placed upon S. Sepolcro. He began to build in 1153.[2] The great conception filled his mind, and he was impatient to translate it into enduring marble. But death overtook him before more than the lower story had arisen. After that the work advanced slowly, constantly delayed for want of funds. King Robert of Sicily, the new ally of Pisa, gave vast donations, but in spite of that it came to a standstill. In 1164 a great effort was made to raise funds by taxing every family in Pisa to the number of 34,000, but, strangely

[1] See inscription on the first pilaster to the left: Deotisalvi Magister Hujus Operis.

[2] See inscription on the other face of the same pilaster: MCLIII . MENSE . AUG . FUNDATA . FUIT . HEC . ECCLESIA.

enough, little or nothing seems to have been done with the money so raised. The unfinished walls stood decaying for more than a century, and when work was resumed in 1278, the Gothic style being in vogue, Diotisalvi's plan was greatly modified. A dome was substituted for the pyramidal roof, the lower of the two arcades was tricked out with gables and pinnacles, and the upper one was replaced by a wall with windows and more pinnacles. Even then the builders lingered and the Baptistery was not completed until some time in the fourteenth century. In spite of the changed design and the mixture of the two styles, Pisan-Romanesque and Gothic, the exterior, by force of fine proportion and imaginative decoration, is very beautiful. Every form and structural detail in the Duomo appears here in a simplified and nobler version. The lower story has a grand arcade with four entrances, all more or less adorned with sculptures that recall Byzantine ivory carvings. The Eastern one is a perfect specimen of the Pisan doorway. Its stilted arch has richly adorned mouldings. Within it are three large figures; the *Madonna and Child* with S. John the Evangelist and S. John the Baptist who presents a kneeling patron to her. This fine work is



DETAIL OF COLUMN AT THE EAST DOOR OF THE BAPTISTERY

by Giovanni Pisano. The Virgin's figure is full of stately dignity and of that intense appreciation of significant movement peculiar to the Pisani. In this work Giovanni appears to be equally under the spell of the classical and the French-Gothic influences. The frieze, by Bonamico (1180), has half-length figures of *Christ*, *the Virgin*, *apostles*, and *angels*; the architrave, scenes from the life of the *Baptist*; the pilasters on the one hand have pictures of the *Seasons*, on the other figures of the *Redeemer*, the *Virgin*, and of *saints*. These date from the middle of the thirteenth century or later, and show a great advance on the work of Bonamico. The figures are slender, graceful, and animated, the representation of the Saviour conceived with a certain dignity. There are two enchantingly beautiful pillars on either side of the door, covered with rich and intricate vine patterns, into which are woven exquisite little beings, nymphs, dryads, and birds, informed with the spirit of the old world. The architrave of the north door is carved with pre-Pisanesque figures representing the *Annunciation* with divers saints.

The second story has a beautiful arcade formed of small arches, round-headed like those of the lower story, finished with crocketted Gothic gables containing half-length saintly figures and surmounted by small statues. Each gable encloses two arches and is separated from the next by a lofty pinnacle. Similar gables occur in the story above, surmounting the round-headed windows. From the hemispherical dome with its crocketted ribs rises a polygon, surmounted by a statue of S. John the Baptist. He dominates the whole country round from his giddy height of some hundred and ninety feet from the ground. The diameter of the Baptistery is ninety-nine feet within the walls, which are eight feet nine

inches thick. The interior is simple but stately and forever filled with the resonance of a singularly musical echo. Its noble circle of columns enclose the sanctuary and form a peristyle beyond. Above them is another circle of pilasters which support the aerial-looking dome. The capitals are all interesting, particularly those on the first pier on the left and the following column. The octagonal font is in the centre, raised three steps above the mosaic pavement. Intended for total immersion, its proportions are ample. This fine work, with its delicate inlay of marble and mosaic, was sculptured by Guido Bigarelli da Como in 1246.

To its left is the treasured pulpit, the first great work with which Niccolò Pisano astonished the Pisans after his appearance in their city. He finished it in 1266, and from the first it was considered so precious as to be placed under the special guardianship of the law. During holy week it was surrounded by an armed guard to protect it alike from worshipper and thief. Whether this step was taken out of regard to the then unparalleled beauty of the sculpture, or because of the value of the rare marbles used in its construction, we have no means of judging.

Hexagonal in form, the pulpit[1] is supported by nine columns of various marbles. The central one rests on a curious group composed of a man, a griffin, a lion, and an ape; three rest on lions and lionesses; the others on simple bases. Six trefoil arches repose on these pillars and in their turn support the body of the pulpit, at each of whose angles is a pilaster upheld by figures emblematic of Virtues. Among them *Fortitude*, personated by Hercules holding a lion's cub, a finely

[1] Beneath the panel of the Last Judgment is inscribed:

ANNO MILLENO BIS CENTUM BISQUE TRICENO
HOC OPUS INSIGNE SCULPSIT NICOLA PISANUS
LAUDETUR DIGNE TAM BENE DOCTA MANUS.

conceived figure; *Fidelity*, by a woman with a dog; *Charity*, by a woman holding a young child in her arms. The five panels of the upper part, divided by clustered pillars of coloured marble, contain reliefs of which *The Nativity* is the first, the Virgin, leaning on her elbow, gazing coldly out into the world with an air much more Etruscan or Roman than Christian. *The Purification* is the second, with rather stunted figures in classical drapery, the priests looking at Our Lady with prophetic tragedy. *The Adoration of the Magi* follows, extremely beautiful and better composed than the others, though the Virgin is a perfect Juno in her ample classicism. *The Last Judgment*, passionate and full of vitality, is the finest of the series. The crowds of squirming, nude figures are executed, if not conceived, entirely in the classical vein, while the grotesque devils wear the masks of the ancient theatre. Last of this strange series is *The Crucifixion*. The sculptor has been so taken up with the muscular development of the crucified Christ as to have omitted all trace of feeling in the figure. Nor do the spectators evince more emotion than supers in a stage scene, taught to fall into certain attitudes supposed to represent grief or horror. The style of the panels is that of the Roman decadence, the scale is uncertain, the heads are too big. All the figures are in very high relief and finished with a fine polish, and a free use of the drill especially characteristic of the period. The sculptor's knowledge of composition, though not great, is inconceivably greater than that of his immediate predecessors. His forcible and dramatic way of seeing was entirely original. However traditional his method, however much his angels resemble victories, his devils satyrs, his nudes Roman gladiators, it is impossible not to admit that with him a new force came into the world. Though unable to throw off the worn-out, lifeless garments of debased classicism, he

THE PULPIT OF NICCOLÒ PISANO, BAPTISTERY, PISA

wears them with such a fiery vigour, such passion, such vitality, that their hampering influence is almost forgotten.

The Leaning Tower, or Campanile Pendente

The Leaning Tower is probably the best known of the "four fabrics." Famous in the most distant lands, its image in alabaster is found in every town, its photographs are legion. Not because of any inherent beauty or architectural merit, but simply because it leans out of the perpendicular. To many eyes a tower that leans is an unpleasant object. Composing badly with the surrounding buildings, it introduces discord into the harmony of straight lines. But the oddity of its inclination has fascinated the majority of mankind. Even Dante did not escape from this curious passion. He uses the Garisenda tower in Bologna as an image, merely because it leans:

> "... As appears
> The tower of Carisenda, from beneath
> Where it doth lean, if chance a passing cloud
> So sail across, that opposite it hangs."[1]

To the student of architecture this is an annoying attitude. He would fix his mind on the structure and ornamentation of the tower, but when he turns to his authorities it is only to find them so absorbed in trying to account for its crookedness, that they have but little space left for mere architecture or history.

Until recently, it has been supposed that the inclination was intended by the builders to show their skill, though it is impossible to believe that anyone should have so absurd and futile a purpose. Every writer explains elaborately how and why this was done. One would imagine that the supporters of this theory

[1] *Inferno*, xxxi. 136 to 139, Cary's translation.

had never looked at the tower, or given a moment's thought to the swampy ground on which it was built. Even the learned and accurate John Evelyn, who visited Pisa in 1644, falls into this error. "It stands alone," he writes, "strangely remarkable for this, that the beholder would expect it to fall, being built exceedingly decliningly, by a rare address of the architect; that and how it is supported from falling I think would puzzle a good geometrician." With him agree the majority of learned travellers who have given their opinion to the world, but even stranger theories were advanced by other writers; a learned Frenchman of the eighteenth century, for instance, explaining that the architect was a hunchback and made the tower crooked to resemble himself, while Tronci declares that the inclination was symbolic of the declining condition of the Republic, whose glorious days were over. And yet it appears evident to the meanest understanding that the inclination was fortuitous, and that before the tower had risen above the first storey the builders began making efforts to rectify it. It is obvious too that the cause was a sinking of the unstable soil under the weight imposed upon it, a phenomenon so common in Pisa that hardly any of the towers are absolutely perpendicular. The only good result of this curious defect in the campanile is that it enabled Galileo to work out his experiments in gravitation.

The twelfth century was an age of towers. Besides the innumerable shafts that crowded the cities of northern and central Italy, the Asinelli and Garisenda towers of Bologna had risen, and the great campanile of S. Mark was successfully completed at the Venetians in 1173. Not to be outdone, the Pisans resolved to raise the campanile for which their cathedral had waited so long to so splendid a style that the tower of the rival city of Venice should pale before it.

Foundations were dug to a vast depth, innumerable piles were driven, and after a year of labour the first stone was laid in August 1174[1] and Bonanus, or Bonanno, the first architect, began to build. Hardly had he reached the height of forty feet from the ground than it was discovered that the campanile was sinking down on one side, and was considerably out of the perpendicular. Bonanno at once tried to remedy the defect, which was so great as to threaten the very existence of the tower. It was necessary to keep the centre of gravity within the building, and for this purpose he placed the first, second and third storeys successively nearer the perpendicular. But the subsidence continued, and when Bonanno ceased to be the architect he left the tower still far from upright. The task of carrying it on was evidently considered a difficult one, and no one was found to undertake it for sixty years. In 1234 Benenato, *Operaio* of the Duomo, having taken a solemn oath that he would not neglect the work in progress there while he raised the campanile, set to work. During the long interval of neglect the tower had sunk still further and the difficulty of righting it was greater than ever. All that Benenato accomplished was the addition of the fourth storey, and then he disappears from our ken and was succeeded by William of Innsbruck, who attacked the problem with great boldness, and again restored the structure to the perpendicular by the simple device of making the pillars of the fifth and sixth storeys longer on one side than on the other. Then finding that it was impossible to prevent the sinking of the foundations he, in his turn, lost courage and abandoned the unfinished structure to its fate. After the lapse of nearly a hundred years, the difficulties having been partially forgotten, Tommaso

[1] See inscription to the right of the entrance door: A.D. MCLXXIV. *Campanile hoc fuit fundatum mensi augusti.*

Pisano, son and pupil of Andrea, undertook to complete the unfortunate enterprise, which he did by erecting the bell-house on the summit with a further inclination towards the perpendicular. It was well that he made no attempt to raise the tower yet farther. A few feet higher and the centre of gravity would have been outside the building, in which case the whole structure must have fallen. Besides leaning thirteen feet to the south the tower has now sunk some seven feet below its original level, which was that of the Duomo.

The campanile is 179 feet high and 51 feet 8 inches in diameter, cylindrical in form, the exterior entirely built of white marble, the interior of Verruca stone. The massive basement is panelled with half-columns and supports six open arcades of round arches with slender shafts and varied and beautiful capitals, antique and mediæval. Above them rises the structure for the bells, which are so hung that their weight counteracts the inclination of the tower, the heavier ones being on the higher side. A careful eye will detect slight differences in the technique and decoration of the different zones, especially in those due to William of Innsbruck. No building ever was more characteristic of the Pisan style. In the lowest storey its simpler and more massive form is seen, while the six arcades with their columns and frippery are an excellent example of the over-ornateness of its zenith, fatiguing to eye and mind from the multiplicity of identical details. Burckhardt however expresses a warm admiration for the innumerable arches which he says "hover round the tower like an ideal clothing." Their detail, he adds, is delicate and well-proportioned.

Above the entrance door is a sculptured *Madonna and Child* with SS. Peter and John of the early Pisan school: a somewhat poor work. Near it is a curious

THE LEANING TOWER AND APSE OF THE DUOMO

representation of dragons and other animals, with an inscription recording the foundation of the tower beneath. Not far off is a delightful primitive relief representing two ships entering Porto Pisano, almost identical with one on the apse of the Duomo. The summit is reached by an easy staircase and commands a complete view of the city and its walls, the royal domains of S. Rossore and Il Gombo beyond, and the sea stretching far away into the distance; Corsica even being visible on a clear day. Leghorn, with its crowded harbour, and Montenero rising behind it, lie in the same direction. To the east, above the wandering Arno, lies Asciano on the slopes of the Pisan hills, behind which rise the glittering summits of the Apuan Alps. From Asciano can be traced the long line of the aqueduct, built in the seventeenth century by the Grand Dukes Ferdinando I. and Cosimo III., that brings pure water to Pisa.

The seven bells in the campanile are fine in tone, and very constantly lift up their voices. The largest of them is called L'Assunta, in reference to the dedication of the Duomo to the Virgin of the Assumption, and is decorated with an image of Our Lady, and with the arms of the Medici and of the Operaio, Francesco della Seta. It weighs nearly 3½ tons and was cast in 1655 by Giovanni Pietro Orlandi. The next one is known as the Crocifisso, and has an image of Our Saviour on the Cross; it belongs to the early nineteenth century and weighs 2 tons. S. Ranieri is the name of the third, cast by Francesco Berti of Lucca in 1735. The fourth is the oldest, dating back to 1262. Originally called La Giustizia, because it hung in the Torre del Giudice whence its solemn and beautiful note proclaimed the death of criminals and traitors, it afterwards was rechristened by the pretty name of La Pasquareccia, or the Poor Sinner's Bell. The fifth

took ts name of Del Pozzo from the famous Archbishop Carlo Antonio del Pozzo, in whose episcopate it was cast in the year 1606. The two remaining bells are small. One of them is called La Terza, the other Vespruccio, or the Vesper bell.[1]

[1] *Pisa Illustrata*, Morrona, vol. ii. p. 108.

CHAPTER VIII

"Its called the Campo Santo because therein is conserved the Holy Earth brought from Hierusalem in fifty Gallies of this Republic. These Gallies were sent by . . . Pisa to succour the Emperor Ænobarbe . . . and they returned home again laden with the earth of the Holy Land, of which they made this Campo Santo."—*Voyage of Italy*, 229. Richard Lassels Gent. 1670.

The Campo Santo, its Frescoes and its Sculpture

THE exterior simplicity of the Campo Santo, the pride of Pisa, enhances the wonderful beauty of the interior. No people ever had a happier inspiration than the Pisans when they prepared this cloistered garden for their dead. Within these dignified white walls, amid the painted presentments of life, of love, of judgment and dismay, kingly death may fitly hold his court. Here he puts on no semblance of grisly horror, but is rather great and beneficent. The echoing steps of those who pass round the broad ambulatory hardly seem to break the extraordinary sense of peace that reigns in the little enclosure. In that sense too it is a fit abode of death, for life seems so infinitely far away from it. It is a monument, not only to the energy, but to the imagination of the old Pisans. Surely, they urged, there lies a magic virtue in the soil of that Holy Hill where the Redeemer accomplished His great sacrifice. And they resolved that the Pisan dead should share its benefits, and with

infinite patience and diligence they conveyed to the coast enough of the sacred soil to fill a fleet of fifty-three galleys so that they rode deep in the water. Then they sailed home triumphantly, Archbishop Ubaldo Lanfranchi being assured in his heart that, though his mission to Saladin had failed, he was bringing his countrymen something more precious than political success. His was the moving spirit in this enterprise, "who out of the love he bore to his city determined to erect a cemetery the like of which was not in the world. He caused enough Holy Earth to be brought from Mount Calvary to cover the whole space. Some of this earth had been taken to Rome before, when it was found that in three days corpses buried therein were entirely consumed, which is a most marvellous thing. It is believed to have this virtue because Our Lord suffered at the place from which it was taken. This is why the cemetery was called Il Campo Santo, or the Holy Field." So wrote an old chronicler, and Tronci adds that "it was made near the Duomo at such great expense and with such magnificence, that for the burial of the dead I do not believe there is such a sumptuous fabric in all the world, or one so much admired by all who see it. I have heard the old men of the city say that before the fleet with its load entered into Pisa it put in near the church of S. Giovanni al Gaetano on the banks of the Arno, and that either at the prayer of the Gaetani, its patrons, or by the good-will of the captain, many baskets-full of the said earth were carried ashore and set down outside the door of the church. I have heard too that this spot, which though narrow still serves as a burial place, shares in the miraculous properties of the earth of the Campo Santo."[1]

[1] *Annali Pisani*, Tronci, ii. 61-62.

THE CAMPO SANTO

The fleet with its precious burden reached Pisa in 1188 according to some authorities, and according to others in 1192, and some sort of enclosure was probably erected in 1200, very possibly the outer walls of the existing fabric. But not until 1278 was the great structure completed, in the archiepiscopate of Federigho Visconti, by no less a man than Giovanni Pisano himself. A contemporary inscription on the outside of the building to the left of the main entrance clearly states these facts.

The legend of the holy earth went on increasing in wonder. It was repeated by writer after writer, and towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Montaigne tells it, many details of a rather gruesome nature had been added. "In the midst of the enclosure," he says, "is an open space where the dead are still buried. I was told positively by everyone that any corpse interred there swells so greatly some eight hours afterwards that the ground may be seen to rise, in the next eight it subsides, and in eight hours more it is entirely consumed, so that in four and twenty hours after the burial nothing is left but bare bones."[1] Evelyn refers to the story, and Smollett in 1766 tells it in almost the same words. The belief is persistent and probably survives even now.

The dim fading colour of the frescoes with which the walls of the ambulatory are clothed, makes us mourn over the ignorance or the carelessness of its founders who placed the Holy Field so near the sea that the salt air and marshy exhalations have worked havoc among them, the walls having been so ill-plastered as to attract rather than to repel damp. We must therefore bear in mind that what we see are but dim shadows of what once existed, shadows that have,

[1] *The Journal of Montaigne's Travels in Italy.* Translated and edited by W. G. Waters, iii. 115

moreover, been restored again and again. Splendid ghosts, or meretricious reconstructions.

The long, low, rectangular building, whose height, length, and breadth, a chronicler tells us are those of Noah's ark, is clothed all round the marble walls with flat arched panelling. At the junction of arch with arch is a series of grotesque sculptured heads. The only two entrances are on the south side, that on the left, from its vicinity to the Porta al Leone, was formerly considered the principal one. It was surmounted by a crucifix, now in the church of S. Michele al Borgo. Over the other is a pinnacled, gothic tabernacle, containing figures of the Virgin and Child with saints, S. John presenting a kneeling figure to the Madonna.[1] These figures resemble those on the Gherardesca monument in the Campo Santo, and are probably by the same hand.

THE TABERNACLE OVER THE ENTRANCE TO THE CAMPO SANTO

The round, arched windows of the interior cloister, now filled with rich gothic tracery of the latter half of the fifteenth century, were originally plain, and the intention was to have closed them with painted glass.

[1] All writers, from Vasari downwards, have confused this tabernacle with the one above the east door of the Baptistery.

Four doors open onto the central garden, which in May is carpeted with a lovely mass of wild bee orchises and blue forget-me-nots, and in January with fragrant narcissus. Out of the cloisters, with their ancient sculpture, open three chapels. The *Capella Maggiore*, in the centre of the east side, is a small, domed, Renaissance building, erected as a mortuary chapel in 1593, on the site of an earlier one, by Archbishop Antonio del Pozzo. The altarpiece, with a kneeling S. Jerome, is by Aurelio Lomi, a Pisan painter of the first half of the seventeenth century. Till recently a crucifix of the Pisan school of the early thirteenth century, but often attributed to Giunta Pisano, hung here.[1]

On the north side are the *Ammanati* and the *Aulla* chapels. The former contains, among other interesting things, six fragments of frescoes from the church of the Carmine in Florence, of which a small piece is in the National Gallery in London, and three in the Liverpool Gallery. Though persistently attributed to Giotto, they are evidently by some unknown follower. The best is a group of angels; the others represent a harper, S. John the Baptist, S. Anna, and a youth. The recumbent figure by Cellino di Nese of Ligo degl'Ammanati, professor of medicine and philosophy, who died in 1359, is dignified and simple. In the pinnacle above we see him lecturing to his students. The stone altarpiece by Tino di Camaino, with S. Ranieri in the gabled top presenting the *Operaio* and probable donor, Burgundio Tadi, to the Virgin, is a fine work. In the centre panel below is S. Ranieri enthroned, to the right is Burgundio Tadi again with S. Ranieri, to the left a Miracle of the Saint.

The *Aulla* chapel has an elaborate coloured relief, more gorgeous than beautiful, the *Assumption of the*

[1] Now in the Museo Civico. Sala, ii. 19.

Virgin, by Giovanni della Robbia, in which a large proportion of the work can only be attributed to assistants. The greater part is painted in oil; the frame only, with its columns and statuettes, is glazed. Giovanni has here broken away from the traditional della Robbia presentations of his subject by introducing figures that are detached in sentiment from the main scene: it is this, rather than any merit of its own, that gives importance to the work.[1]

Of the frescoes that clothe the walls with splendid colour and momentous dramas, Vasari, in his "Life of Giotto," tells us that "this magnificent edifice being encrusted with rich marbles and sculptures executed at immense cost, the roof being covered with lead and the interior filled with antique monuments and sepulchral urns of Pagan times, it was determined that the inner walls should be adorned with the noblest paintings."

Beginning with the *North wall* we find four frescoes, ascribed by Vasari to his mythical Buffalmacco, but really by Pietro di Puccio of Orvieto, a mediocre painter of the Sienese school who worked under Ugolino di Prete Ilario in the choir of the cathedral of Orvieto in 1370, and on the mosaics on the front in 1387. Puccio came to Pisa at the invitation of Parasone Grassi, who was in charge of the works, and painted four scenes from the Book of Genesis.

The first is *Il Mappamondo*. At a distance it looks more like a huge target than a picture. The concentric circles are intended to portray the Universe, the earth in the centre being surrounded by the elementary and planetary spheres and the celestial hierachy, according to the cosmographers of that age.

[1] Luca and Andrea della Robbia and their successors. Maud Cruttwell, p. 237, Dent & Co.

The whole is grasped in the hand of a colossal figure of the Almighty. In the lower corners are figures of S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas. The various subjects are indicated in gothic lettering.

The next is the *Creation*, with seven episodes: the creation of Adam; God leading Adam into the Garden of Eden; the creation of Eve; Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit; God speaking to them; the expulsion from the Garden of Eden; and, lastly, Adam digging while Eve suckles her child.

This is followed by the *Death of Abel*. From the two sacrifices ascend strange, substantial-looking rays of fire, those from Abel's altar mounting up to God, who appears among the cherubim; Cain killing Abel; Cain accidently shot in a thicket by Lamech; Lamech slaying the servant who tempted him to shoot Cain.

Noah and the Flood is the last of this series. Here we see the building of the ark; the return of the dove; and the sacrifice of Noah. These frescoes are but little removed in style from a picture drawn by a child. The Creation is the best. Its nudes are treated with a certain vigorous if rather coarse realism. The Garden of Eden, enclosed in crenellated walls with fortified gates very like the actual gates of Pisa of that time, is the usual mediæval pleasance, a tangle of shady trees with a fountain set in the midst. There are graceful borders round the frescoes, in one of which Vasari says is a portrait of Buffalmacco.[1]

[1] The book of the Opera of the Campo Santo for 1390 leaves no doubt as to the authorship of these frescoes. "Magister Petrus olim Pucci de Urbe veteri pictor qui dudum pinxit in Campo Sancto ystoriam Genesis habuit et recepit," &c. And, "Anno 1392 de lib M. Mag. Pierus Pictor de Urbe-veteri habuit et recepit a.d. Operario pro una libra azurri de la Magna pro ystoria Genesis de Campo Sancto," &c., cited by Morrona in *Pisa Illustrata*. ii., 208.

From these crude works we pass on to the graceful but mannered series by Benozzo Gozzoli, which covers the rest of the wall, with the exception of a fresco by Pietro di Puccio over the door of the Aulla chapel. They were the culminating works of the long career that began at Montefalco in 1449, after Benozzo had left his master Fra Angelico, with the frescoes in S. Fortunato and S. Francesco, and continued in Rome, Viterbo, Florence, S. Gimignano and Castel Florentino. In Montefalco and in the Riccardi chapel in Florence Benozzo produced his most attractive works, full of charm, facile invention, life-like portraiture, beauty of movement, and love of gorgeous details, of costume, and of background. He was in no sense a great or an original master, but rather an imitator; first of Fra Angelico, and later of the Florentine realists. In Pisa he worked from 1469-1484, producing in that time twenty-four frescoes of Old Testament scenes, as well as the Louvre Glorification of S. Thomas Aquinas, painted for the Duomo, and more than one picture for the Pisan churches. That he executed commissions outside Pisa during the same period is proved by his signature with the date 1484 on the frescoes of the tabernacle near Meleto. No later mention of Benozzo can be found, and it is therefore assumed that he died the same year, probably in Pisa. He was buried in the Campo Santo beneath his own fresco of Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream, in a tomb presented to him by the citizens in 1478.[1]

The first and best of the series is *The Cultivation of the Vine and The Drunkenness of Noah*, a well-known composition, very characteristic of the master, and which

[1] The inscription on his tomb: *Hic Tumulus Est Benotii Florentini Qui Proxime Has Pinxit Historias Hunc Sibi Pisanorum Donavit Humanitas. MCCCCLXXVIII.* is concealed by a piece of sculpture.

has some very beautiful passages. On the left side are various vintage scenes. A youth on a ladder hands a basket of grapes down from the pergola to a girl, while another graceful maiden carries away a laden basket on her head, and a third empties her load into the vat. A man is treading the grapes exactly as is done at the present day in Italy. On the right lies the Patriarch overcome with wine, a very different person from the spruce, well-dressed, and curled old gentleman in the other part of the composition. In the group beside him is the girl who pretends to hide her face with her hand, but peeps through her fingers with malicious joy at such a spectacle, thus giving rise to the proverb applied to mock-modest women who are said to be *come la vergognosa di Pisa*. Landscape, architecture and accessories, are painted, as in the whole series, with the loving care of a man who delights in detail. The lower right corner is in very bad condition, indeed the Patriarch's head has entirely disappeared; but this matters the less, because all this part was repainted in 1469.[1]

The *Curse of Ham* is the next. To the left, Noah and his wife are sitting in a magnificent Renaissance loggia, and Noah curses his son Ham. The rest of the fresco represents quiet episodes in a charming landscape, suggesting the country round Florence. Graceful groups surround a fountain to the right, and there are two smart pages and some quaint children in the foreground. The main group is in a deplorable state.

[1] Benozzo's signature is on the collar of the figure that points with both hands at the Patriarch: . . . *us Benoti de Florentia, MCCCCL.* . . . The account-book of the Opera del Campo Santo has this entry: "E di avere a di primo Gennaio 1469 fiorini 66 e due terzi larghi sono per la prima storia ch'a fatto quando Noe fa cogliere l'uva per infino che è inebriato e sono . . . lire 373 sol. 6." Ciampi. Sce *Pisa Illustrata*, Morrona, ii. 213.

In the third, *The Building of the Tower of Babel*, Benozzo gives a striking picture of the costume and architecture of his day. "The proud building of the Tower of Babel," as Vasari calls it, is going on in the centre of a long composition. Many masons are at work on the unfinished structure, which is surrounded by scaffolding. It is an ordinary mediæval tower of the period, and throws light on the methods used in their construction. The lower part of the fresco is filled from end to end with a crowd of spectators, nearly all typical fifteenth century Florentines. To the right may be recognised Cosimo Pater Patriæ, his son Piero il Gottoso, his grandsons Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano, and their tutor Poliziano wearing a berretta. The city of Babylon, in the upper half of the composition, might be labelled Florence or Rome. Within the crenellated walls with machicolated gates is a fantastic medley of buildings, among them the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, and the Pantheon and the Pyramid of Caius Cestius at Rome.

Over the door of the Ammanati chapel is a pleasing *Adoration of the Magi*, the scene taking place in a beautiful landscape. The Magi are attended by many followers riding very fat horses; a figure high up on the extreme left is supposed to represent Benozzo himself, on a brown horse, wearing a blue cap, and looking towards the Virgin, whose head and part of whose figure have disappeared. Below is a graceful Annunciation, the Madonna seated in a richly-furnished room.[1]

A double row of frescoes now follows. *Abraham*

[1] E di avere fiorini ducento larghi sono per tre storie fatte in Campo Santo sequitando la prima di sopra e venendo verso la Cappella di Santo . . . ove è l'ultima storia de Magi, e dell Annunsiata a di 5 Nov. 1471. Libro dell' Opera del 1469, num. 3.

and the Worship of Belus in the upper one represents a story inspired by the rabbinical traditions so widely circulated in the middle ages. Ninus, King of Babylon, sets up an image of his father, Belus, and issues a proclamation that all criminals who worship it shall be pardoned. In a pretty little round temple with fine buildings behind is the image of Belus, with votaries kneeling before it. Towards the right is Abraham, coming unharmed from the fiery pyre upon which he had been cast for refusing to worship the idol, while his brother Nahor is consumed. Ninus, on the left, is remitting the punishment of the two Baal worshippers. The background is crowded with fighting figures: emblematic, perhaps, of bad government.

Below is *Abraham and Lot in Egypt*, a crowded composition, with episodes out of the histories of the two patriarchs. On the right is the strife between their servants. In the centre, Abraham kneels before the Lord, who tells him that he is to be the head of the Chosen People. To the left, he and Lot go forth from Babylon to the Promised Land, with their wives and servants, in two great cavalcades. The hand of Benozzo's assistant, Zanobi Machiavelli, is plainly recognisable in this fresco, particularly in the two combatants who grasp each other by the hair.

In the top row follows *The Victory of Abraham*. To the left is the slaughter of the Assyrians and the rescue of Lot by Abraham; in the centre, the slaughter of the Sodomites; on the extreme right, Melchizedec is offering bread and wine to Abraham. The two chief equestrian figures are fine.

Below, is *Abraham and Hagar*. Sarah chastises Hagar, who is seen again in the distance escorted by two angels. In the episode of Abraham and the Angels, the angel attending Hagar is reminiscent of Fra Angelico.

Next, on the upper row, is the *Destruction of Sodom and the Escape of Lot*. In the foreground, to the right, is Lot with his family, Lot's wife as the pillar of salt suggesting a classical statue. The rest of the fresco represents the burning of Sodom and the terror and despair of the people. The composition is crowded and confused, and the work is as a whole very unequal, showing Benozzo at his best and at his worst.

The Sacrifice of Isaac is below. A poor work. On the left of the composition, which is divided by a tree, are several groups representing the strife of Isaac and Ishmael, the sending forth of Hagar, and the angel appearing to her. On the right is the sacrifice.

On the upper row, the *The Marriage of Jacob and Rebecca* is a good composition. To the left, Abraham sends forth Eleazer. In the centre is the meeting at the well, the espousals, and the marriage feast to the right. Round the well is a remarkably graceful group of women with pitchers.

The Birth of Jacob and Esau below is in a very bad state. On the left is the birth of the twins, and Esau selling his birthright to Jacob. On the right Isaac blesses Jacob, and Esau returns from the chase. The whole is overladen with architectural details and useless figures.

The upper fresco represents *The Marriage of Jacob and Rachel, and Jacob's Dream*. This contains some of Benozzo's best work, and is one of his most attractive compositions. Beginning from the right is Jacob's struggle with the angel, the alliance sworn between Laban and Jacob, the marriage of Jacob and Rachel, whom Jacob embraces, Jacob on the road to Charan, Rebecca embracing Jacob, Jacob kneeling before his father. The angels in Jacob's dream, and the dancers and spectators at the wedding feast, are especially noteworthy for grace and beauty.

Below is *The Meeting of Jacob and Esau, and the Rape of Dinah.* The splendour of the architecture and of the landscape in the background of this fresco are remarkable. There are three groups of contemporary portraits, among them Lorenzo de' Medici in profile as one of the sons of Jacob. The group of Jacob and Rachel with the little Benjamin is very beautiful.

Over the door of the Aulla Chapel the series is interrupted by a *Coronation of the Virgin*, by Pietro di Puccio which shows traces of greater beauty than one would have given him credit for, judging by his other frescoes.

Returning to Benozzo *The Innocence of Joseph* in the upper row is a confused composition, with numerous figures huddled together. It tells Joseph's story from the time he left his father's house until he was delivered from prison. The recognition of Benjamin's clothes by Jacob is the best part.

Below is *Joseph made known to his Brethren.* The whole background is exceedingly rich in architecture; one of the buildings represented is a cathedral, which is a curious blend of the Duomos of Florence and of Pisa. The main episodes are Pharaoh declaring his dream to the magicians, the appointment of Joseph as Viceroy of Egypt, and his making himself known to his brothers. Above are two angels with a scroll, on which verses laudatory of Benozzo's work are inscribed.[1] He is buried just beneath this fresco.

[1] Quid spectas volucres, pisces, et monstra ferrarum,
Et virides silvas æthereasque domos?
Et pueros, juvenes, matres, canosque parentes,
Queis semper virum spirat in ore decus?
Non haec tam variis finxit simulacra figuris
Natura, ingenio fætibus apta suo:
Est opus artificis: pinxit viva ora Benoxus:
O superi vivos fundite in ora sonos.

The succeeding frescoes deal with the life of Moses. The *Infancy and First Miracle of Moses*, which follows above, is a very architectural work with various episodes. In the first the child Moses is in the arms of Pharoah, whose crown he throws down upon the ground. In the centre the child, still in Pharoah's arms, stretches out his hand over the chafing-dish of hot coals after rejecting the dish of fruit which had been offered to him. This ordeal was to prove that the casting down of the crown was intentional. Moses, now a man, appeals to Pharoah to let the children of Israel go, and finally, on the extreme right, the rod is changed into a dragon-like serpent to the terror of a youth standing near.

In *the Passage of the Red Sea*, beneath it, some of the intonaco has fallen off. The original drawing in red is visible on the lower layer of plaster. The landscape background is fine.

The Tables of the Law and the Golden Calf, also below, is in a very bad condition. What can be seen bears some resemblance to Cosimo Rosselli's paintings in the Sixtine Chapel.

Above, in *Aaron's Rod*, which has also suffered considerably, the Brazen Serpent is represented as a winged dragon. Here also the resemblance to Cosimo Rosselli is strong.

The Fall of Jericho and David Slaying Goliath is a long composition with varied episodes and extravagant figures. The two frescoes beneath, *The Destruction of Dathan and Abiram*, and *The Death of Aaron*, are entirely obliterated.

The last of the series, *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon*, is almost obliterated. Only the upper parts of some of the figures are visible; the intonaco has fallen off and laid bare the first outline. An old drawing of this fresco exists, which was

formerly thought to be the original design, but is really a copy. Vasari says that Marsilio Ficino, Argyropoulos, the learned Greek, Battista Platina, and Benozzo himself, were portrayed in this fresco, Benozzo as a clean-shaven old man on horseback, with a black berretta on his head in whose folds is a white paper, either as a mark or in order to write his name upon it. Portraits of members of the Visconti and Gambacorti families are also introduced on the right.[1]

At the *East end* of the Campo Santo, to the left of the Capella Maggiore, is a totally uninteresting picture representing *The History of King Josiah* and *Belshazzar's Feast*, by Zaccaria Rondinosi, an indifferent Pisan painter of the seventeenth century, who would not be worth mentioning were it not for the fact that he was the restorer of the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli, and of others in the Campo Santo: receiving a large sum of money for doing incalculable harm.

To the right of the chapel are four frescoes with a strange and arresting dignity and passion, but sadly marred by the daubing brush of the officious Rondinosi. Attributed in turn to Buffalmacco, to a follower of Giotto, and to Francesco Traini, it is evident that they are by the same unknown hand that traced the noble lines of the Triumph of Death, the Last Judgment, and the Life of the Holy Hermits.

First comes *The Ascension*, a beautifully ordered composition in whose upper part ranks of exquisite angels flank the grand figure of their ascended Lord. Below on either side of the mount is a kneeling group of yearning disciples, straining eye and mind in the effort to follow their Master even into the kingdom of

[1] From the books of the Opera del Duomo we learn that Benozzo received 9533 *lire Pisani* for the series. Begun in 1469, they were finished in May 1484.

heaven. Some of the panic-stricken are consoled by the grave and stately angel who reveals to them the hidden meaning of the dread event.

The Disbelief of Thomas includes one of the noblest and yet gentlest figures of Christ in all the history of art, and worthy of it is the group of disciples who bow before Him, every shade of emotion, from doubt to recognition and adoration, being depicted on their faces.

The chief beauty of *The Resurrection* lies in its gravity of conception, and in the groups of angels who lift the ponderous cover from the sepulchre, or adore the risen Saviour.

A wild and passionate *Crucifixion* ends the series. In it the two thieves writhe in rapture or in agony, S. John wrings his hands in the fiercest of anguish and the angels, true birds of God, flutter to and fro like a flight of startled swallows. Only the central figure on the Cross is still, and that with the stillness of death.

The *South wall* is decorated by *The Triumph of Death*, *The Last Judgement*, and *The Life of the Holy Hermits*. The authorship of these frescoes has been much disputed. Vasari attributes the two first to Andrea and Bernardo Orcagna; Burckhardt to the school of Giotto; others to Bernardo Daddi, or to Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti. Signor Supino, a patriotic Pisan, boldly asserts that they are by Traini, the Pisan painter, although the style in which they are painted bears no resemblance to his. *The Holy Hermits* is usually ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti. There is no certainty in the matter, but the attribution of all three to some unknown follower of the Lorenzetti seems most probable.

The Triumph of Death is a splendidly dramatic picture. In a pleasant grove to the right are the great ones of the earth. They are full of the joy of life,

PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH, BY AN UNKNOWN FOLLOWER OF THE LORENZETTI, CAMPO SANTO.

(See also plate facing page 96)

young and beautiful, clad in magnificent robes. Wrapt in the warm, still air they sit making love, and toying with their lap dogs or with their falcons. Soft music lulls them and cupids hover near to protect them. But all unknown to them comes furious Death with poisèd scythe, seeking to cut them off in their youth and delight. The gay company clearly consists of people known to the painter, but Vasari can only identify one, Castruccio Castracane, Lord of Lucca. He is the gallant young man with the strong profile and a blue cap on his head, sitting erect, falcon on wrist, and gazing at the lady who is playing the psaltery. Not so eager is envious Death to end the sufferings of the old, the weary, the lame and the blind, who are seen in the centre of the picture, and who cry out to her [1] to come and release them from their pain.[2] She takes kings and beggars, the young and the strong, but passes by these poor wretches. The air is thick with flying souls, borne by angel [3] or demon to heaven or to the burning mouths of hell that gape on the top of the great mountain projecting into the middle of the picture. On its slopes are pleasant trees and wild animals all fearless of the holy hermits who dwell amongst them. An

[1] Death is here represented as a woman.

[2] They hold out a scroll to her on which is written :—

Dacche prosperitade ci ha lasciate
O Morte medicina di ogni pena
O viene a darne ormai l'ultima cena.

[3] The angels above hold a scroll with the following inscription :—

Ischerno di savere e di richezza
Di nobilitate ancora e di prodezza
Vale niente ai colpi di costei
Ed ancor non si truova contra lei
O lettore niuno argomento
Eh! non avere lo'ntelletto spento
Di stare sempre in apparecchiato
Che non ti giungo in mortale peccato.

anchorite sits reading on the steps of a small church, while another, supported on crutches, is listening. One prays, and yet another milks a hind. All are aged men, and solitude and peace surround them. S. Macarius has decended the steep path to the plain below and calls the attention of a company of kings, lords, and ladies to the miserable end of mankind, as exhibited in the corpses of three monarchs, lying each in his coffin in all the horrors of decay.[1] In the foremost lord one recognises Castruccio again by his profile and splendid bearing. He calls the attention of the second king to the horrible spectacle. Facinated, in spite of himself, the king leans forward, holding his nose in disgust; his horse too stretches out his neck and whinnies in fear. Vasari identifies him as Uguccione della Faggiuola. Between the two rides a lady who is overcome with pity at the sight. The third horseman urges his horse forward, curiosity as well as awe depicted in his youthful face. The bearded king behind Uguccione is said to be either Louis of Bavaria or the Emperor Henry VII., and the pitiful lady the daughter of Ernando, Count Palatine. The lady on the left of Castruccio, with a lapdog in her arms, has been identified as his daughter Sancia, wife of Bonifazio Novello della Gherardesca, the young horseman.[2]

[1] Macarius's scroll has these words :—

Se vostra mente sia bene accorta
Tenendo fiso qui la vista afitta
La Vanagloria vi sara sconfitta
La Superbia, come vedete morta,
V'accorgerete ancor di questa sorta
Se osservate la legge che v'e scritta.

[2] Another explanation is suggested by Troya in his interesting book *Del Veltro Allegorica dei Ghibellini* (Naples, 1856). Like others he sees Castruccio in the first horseman, and Uguccione della Faggiuola in the second, but he takes the third to be Gaddo della Gherardesca, if not Dante

The Last Judgement. After Death the Judgement. We are led naturally from the Triumph of Death to this great ordered scene. The first impression it makes is of symmetry, the second of awe. In its general arrangement it follows the traditions that had already crystallised round the subject, but differs from them in its conception of the Judge. He is here represented as an individual personality, while in the earlier pictures He was little more than a type.

He and the Blessed Virgin sit side by side in mandorla glories. She is not even a step lower, but though her attitude is His, line for line, a certain shrinking humility indicates the difference of the parts they play. Christ is the terrible Judge; Our Lady the tender pleader. Christ tears open His garment with one hand to disclose His wounded side, while the other is raised above His head in splendid denounciation. "Not even My passion has availed! Depart ye evil ones into everlasting fire," he seems to say. Mary's hand is on her throbbing heart. She is filled with pity and terror, and longs, yet fears, to intercede. The Apostles sit on either side in a straight row gazing "with awful eye" at the remorseless Judge, or hanging their heads in despair. "Who shall stand in this day of wrath?" Even one of the denouncing angels who blow the trumpets of doom cowers in a forlorn heap, hiding his face in his hands, yet unable to tear his eyes from the rending of the tombs below. The archangels alone are free from this paralysing emotion. Guided by

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Alighieri. The bearded king remains Louis of Bavaria or Henry VII., but the weeping maiden to the left of Castruccio, wearing a ducal crown, he believes to be the daughter, or the daughter-in-law, of Uguccione. If the latter, she was a daughter of Corso Donato, and came as a bride to the Castle of Faggiuola at the very time, according to Boccaccio, that Dante took refuge there. The dogs are greyhounds, the *Veltri* of the ghibellines.

Michael they do their work jocundly, hustling back the damned who try to break their ranks, haling a monk out from among the blessed, and with remorseless hands urging him towards the lost. One of them is kind, and gently leads a humble soul away from the despairing company to which he had taken it for granted that he belonged. Exactly midway between the blessed and the lost Solomon is rising from his grave; he seems in an anguish of uncertainty as to his destiny. The ranks of the blessed are calm. All eyes are raised, all hands are clasped. The feeling is intense but quiet. The lost, on the other hand, struggle and complain, wring their hands with shame and despair, make wild efforts to escape their doom. Among them are men and women of every rank; queens, kings, priests, and monks, Benedictines and Dominicans. Even a pope is found in the sorrowful company. Adam, on his knees, heads the first rank of the blessed, John the Baptist the second. The monk's cowl, the bishop's mitre, the king's crown figure here too, and the nun's wimple. Angels with the instruments of the Passion, like celestial standard-bearers, hover in the sky on either side.

The types are strong. The dramatic passion and play of expression are rendered with simple intensity, and the demons have the permanent beauty of true grotesques. Pity it is that the painter of these great works, for it is by the same hand as the Triumph of Death and the two following frescoes, one of the greatest illustrators of the middle ages, should not have been content to let his pictures plead for themselves by legitimate artistic means, but should have been so anxious to enforce the moral that he must needs deface his works by scrolls inscribed with didactic verses.

The Inferno, a grizzly scene of grotesque misery, is

based no doubt on Dante's Hell. Only the upper zone of the picture is original, and from it alone it should be judged. The second zone and the two figures by the side of Lucifer are inferior, and are probably the work of Cecco di Pietro, a Pisan employed to restore the fresco in 1379. Lucifer, "the emperor of the dolorous realm," a gigantic figure with three faces, sits in the middle,

> "At six eyes he wept: the tears
> Adown three chins distill'd with bloody foam,
> At every mouth his teeth a sinner champ'd,
> Bruised as with ponderous engine; so that three
> Were in this guise tormented,"[1]

and behind him the divers places of torment are full of accursed spirits and serpents of various sizes, as the poet has it. The lower part was repainted in 1530 by Sollazino, who departed considerably from the original design, as is seen in an early engraving.[2] From this ugly scene "we issue out, again to see the stars."

The Life of the Holy Hermits, which follows, is an apotheosis of the solitary life. Thirty episodes from the lives of hermit saints are scattered over the great surface without any attempt at composition. It is so like the preceding frescoes in manner as to be almost certainly by the same hand, although generally given to Pietro Lorenzetti, who painted a somewhat similar picture on a much smaller scale.[3]

The various episodes are full of vehement energy, knowledge of the nude, and masterly animal drawing. The drapery is simple, as is the light and shade, and the forms are finely rendered. Beginning at the left

[1] *Inferno*, Canto xxxiv. 49-53, Cary's translation

[2] Published in *Pisa Illustrata*, by Morrona, vol. ii. plate 12.

[3] Now in the Uffizi.

of the top row two figures kneel at the mouth of a cave, S. Paul the hermit and S. Anthony. Further on is the death of S. Paul, S. Anthony mournfully kissing the hand of his dying friend. In the distance the two lions scrape out his shallow grave with their paws. Then S. Anthony repels a demon in the shape of a woman, he is beaten by two demons, and is comforted by a vision of the Redeemer. At the mouth of a cave a hermit sits working, and S. Anthony chases away two demons with the sign of the Cross. Further to the right Abbot Hilarion, mounted on a mule, puts a dragon to flight with the same sign, the intense terror of his companion being finely rendered.

In the second row to the left, is S. Mary of Egypt, shrouded in her long hair, receiving the sacrament from Bishop Zosimus: a very fine group. A hermit at the grating of his cell is tempted by the demon in the shape of an aged anchorite. Near him a solitary prays peacefully between two lions, and the evil one, in the form of a fair pilgrim, tempts an anchorite. Then follow various hermits at work, meditating, reading, conversing, one of them ensconced in an oak tree, while at the end of the row S. Pannuzio buries the dead body of S. Onofrio.

In the third and lowest row is a monk leading a loaded ass into a city gate, and hard by S. Marina, in the monastic habit, with a child in her arms, is sitting in front of a small church. Various anchorites are fishing or carrying on other occupations while they are tempted by devils in divers disguises. Two more are working near a church, others are at rest, and one brings them a barrel of wine. S. Pannuzio is tempted in his cell by a woman, and only saves himself from her wiles by plunging his hands into a fire. Further on the same woman, struck down by a bolt from

heaven, lies dying on the ground. S. Pannuzio saves her by his prayers, when she kneels in penitence and dedicates herself to the service of God.

Damp and repeated restorations have injured this fine work as well as the others. All the frescoes are enclosed in a painted frame with medallions repainted in part by Antonio Veneziano.

Fragments of a fresco are visible between the lower border of the Life of the Holy Hermits and a Roman sarcophagus imbedded in the wall beneath it, whose front surface only is visible. The recumbent figure of an aged saint can be made out without difficulty, the head surrounded by rays. Two angels that hover above his head and his feet, with thuribles in their hands, are even better preserved, as are the two half-length angelic figures in the border above.[1] The four angels and the recumbent figure are by Antonio Veneziano, who was working in the Campo Santo in 1386. He is known to have restored the lower portion of the fresco of the Holy Hermits, including the row of five anchorites, one of whom is seated among the branches of a tree, the lower border and the "painting beneath."[2] The "painting beneath" obviously means the recumbent figure representing the Blessed Giovanni Cini (and not, as is often said, the Blessed Giovanni Gambacorti, or, as the modern inscription below the fresco states, the Blessed Giovanni de Pace). Cini was a Pisan religious, and the founder of the Company of Discipline of S. John the Evangelist. He died in the first half of the fourteenth century, and was buried here in the wall, his coffin, an antique sarcophagus, being, as we see, inserted into it.

[1] In their hands are scrolls inscribed with Psalm ii. 12-13, Vulgate, and Psalm xxxvi. 11-12, Vulgate.

[2] *Notizie inedite. . . . del Campo Santo*, &c., pp. 101-102, and document xxxiii. *n.* 3. Ciampi, Florence, 1810.

Above the door is an *Assumption of the Virgin*, attributed by Vasari to Simone Martini, an attribution which has clung to it in spite of the inferiority of the work. Though lately given to Traini, it is no doubt by some unknown Sienese painter. The fresco has been so ruthlessly repainted as to have lost much of its original aspect. The Blessed Virgin, seated on a Gothic throne in an elliptical glory, is borne to heaven by angels. Her hands, folded in prayer, were originally crossed on her breast, as may be seen through the repainting. Some of the angels on the right are practically new.

Beyond the door is a series of frescoes illustrating the life of S. Ranieri. By Vasari these also are attributed to Simone Martini, but the three upper ones are by Andrea da Firenze (1377), the three lower by Antonio Veneziano (1386).

S. Ranieri's Call comes first in the upper row. To the left the saint, still in the thrall of the world, is represented as a gaily dressed youth playing his psaltery while a circle of pretty ladies dance round him. A well-dressed crowd surround the dancers, and look out from the loggie of palaces behind. The moment chosen is that when a lady pulls him by the cloak, saying, "Wilt thou not follow this angel?" meaning the Blessed Alberto Leccapecore, a holy hermit who had just passed by. We next see Ranieri (to the right) kneeling before the Blessed Alberto, while the Holy Ghost descends on him in the shape of a dove. The scene is in the porch of a church very like S. Pierino, but probably meant for S. Vito. In the interior Ranieri, blind, kneels between his father and mother before the Redeemer, who restores his sight. The whole gives a most accurate picture of the costumes, architecture, and manners of the time. The style of this and the two following frescoes is

distinctly Sienese, although Andrea, whom we know to be the author from entries in the books of the Campo Santo, is described as *di Florentia.*[1] The fresco has been badly repainted by the Brothers Melani.

Ranieri embarks for the Holy Land in a high-pooped vessel on the left. One of the passengers opens a chest to take out money, whereupon an unbearable stench rises from it. Ranieri explains to the others that worldly goods stink in the nostrils of God. The action of the saint, and of the men who hold their noses and turn away, is very naive and natural. According to Vasari, this scene includes portraits of Count Gaddo Gherardesca and of Ranieri, his uncle. When Ranieri lands at Joppa and enters a church he is again comforted by a vision of the Saviour. He distributes alms, and receives the hair-shirt of the pilgrim at Jerusalem. The Virgin, surrounded by angels, appears to him in the chief church of Tyre. Her figure is majestic, but ill-preserved; some of the attendant angels are in far better condition.

[1] Andrea was commissioned to paint these frescoes by Piero Gambacorti, who paid him on Oct. 3, 1377. He bore the title of "pictor opere," and lived near the Campo Santo.

1. "Maestro Antone di Franciescho dipintore da Fiorensa lo quale dipingie in Chapo santo la storia di Santo Ranieri de' dare a di Y di Diciembre 1385 fiorini dodici d'oro li quali diei per lui ad Aldrodandino speciale per uncie Vij d'azurro portòleli Ser Giovanni fattore dell' opra a bottegha sua."—Arch. di Stato, Pisa, *Arch. dell' opera del Duomo di Parasone Grasso*, reg. 60, c. 18.

2. "Mæstro Antone di Franciescho dipintore da Fiorensia lo quali dipingie in Chapo santo la storia di Santo Ranieri de' dare a di Vij di Giugno 1386 fiorini tre d' oro li quali li prestai soprascritto di in fiorini nuovi portò Checco suo figluolo."—*Memorie*, etc., Bonaini, c. 35.

Another entry in the *Libro d'Entrate e Uscita* of the Opera del Duomo proves that he was helped by two assistants.

Quoted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 281, new edition.

The Miracles of S. Ranieri is the last of Andrea's frescoes. On the left the saint praying in the choir is disturbed by Lucifer, who, on being repulsed appears in the air holding a false image of Ranieri in his arms. Then, defeated, he revenges himself by pelting the saint with stones.

In the next scene Ranieri is taming two very heraldic-looking lionesses, afterwards he is on his knees before a vision of Christ between Enoch and Elias. In the last scene he asks for shelter at the door of a monastery, where he satisfies the hunger of many with one loaf, miraculously multiplied. Though the compositions recall Simone Martini's method, the drawing is feeble and monotonous and the painting poor.

Three years after these frescoes were painted, Barnaba da Modena was commissioned to finish the series, but some obstacle occurred. Though he came to Pisa he did no work in the Campo Santo; and it was not until 1386 that it was finally completed by Antonio Veneziano.

Antonio was possibly a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, and a not unworthy rival of Giovanni da Milano and of Giottino. As an early student of nature in an age of convention, he forms a rather important link in the chain connecting Giotto with Massaccio. Vasari's remark that he was a close student of emotional movement is true; besides this he was a master of technique, and deserves more attention than has hitherto been bestowed on him. Only one of his frescoes here, *The Return of S. Ranieri*, has survived in anything like a complete state, and even that has suffered greatly. It is much more vigorous than anything of Andrea da Firenze's. To the left is the departure of the saint from the Holy Land. Only the heads remain and the upper part of a walled city, with a vision of Christ

in the sky blessing the saint. We next see Ranieri in the stern of a ship, which is scudding along with bellying sails. The figure of an angler on the shore separates this episode from the next, in which S. Ranieri rebukes the fraudulent innkeeper of Messina, and renders a demon visible on a cask of his diluted wine. He further proves the man's false dealing by pouring the liquid into a fold of his garment, when the wine filters through and the water remains. Further to the right he is seated at table, entertained by the Canons of the Duomo of Pisa. In the distance is the city with many fine buildings. Antonio was a master in representing architecture, as we see in the second of this series, where S. Vito, the Duomo, and the Campanile appear. In the third is the Baptistery. His perspective and foreshortening are wonderfully accurate for an age when the exact rules of the science were unknown.

The Death of S. Ranieri is in a deplorable condition. The saint's followers mourn over his body, kissing his hands; among them is the famous figure of a dropsical woman. Above the roof of the church of S. Vito his spirit hovers in the air. The Funeral, with the body of the saint carried by canons and clergy, has almost disappeared, owing to the falling of the intonaco. The Campanile can still be seen to the right.

The Miracles of S. Ranieri is also nearly obliterated. It showed the saint's body exposed to public worship under a dais in the Duomo. In the crowd surrounding it was a woman possessed by a devil and a mother with her sick child. The walls of Pisa separated this episode from the next, in which a sinking ship is saved by the intervention of S. Ranieri, and which is full of dramatic action and well-drawn figures.

The next six compartments contain a series of

frescoes by Spinelli Aretino,[1] three above and three below, of which the latter are practically obliterated. The remaining ones are scenes from the lives of SS. Ephesus and Potitus, who are peculiarly Pisan saints. Ephesus was an officer in the service of the Emperor Diocletian, and was sent by him to destroy the Christians in Sardinia. A vision, in which the Saviour commanded him to cease persecuting the faithful, ended in his conversion to Christianity. He turned his arms against the pagans, and with his friend S. Potitus, a native of Cagliari, he suffered martyrdom. After the subjugation of Sardinia by the Pisans the relics of the two saints were borne in triumph to Pisa, where they are still preserved in the Duomo.

First in the upper row is *S. Ephesus before Diocletian* and *The Appearance of Christ to the Saint*. The three episodes can be distinguished, although the fresco is in a fragmentary condition. First comes the presentation of young Ephesus to the Emperor by the mother of the latter, then the Emperor giving a commander's staff to Ephesus on his starting to fight the Christians in Sardinia, and thirdly the apparition of the Saviour.

The second fresco, *S. Ephesus fighting the Pagans in Sardinia*, is a bold and spirited composition, and better preserved. In the left corner the apparition of Our Lord to S. Ephesus, who is on horseback and listens with folded hands to His commands, is somewhat obliterated. Then S. Ephesus is seen, kneeling before the archangel Michael, a splendid winged figure presenting a banner to the saint. Strengthened by these heavenly favours Ephesus routs the heathen.

[1] Summoned to Pisa by Parasone Grassi in 1391, he received from him, and from Como de Calmulus, his successor, 150 gold florins for the frescoes of S. Ephesus; 120 for those of S. Potitus, which he finished in March, 1392.

The battle is on the right, the Christians are aided by the archangel himself and by the banner which is borne behind him.

The Martyrdom of S. Ephesus follows. The saint, his conversion to Christianity having been discovered, is brought before the Prætor of Sardinia and is condemned to be burnt in a fiery furnace. The flames refuse to touch him but slay the executioners, and finally the saint is beheaded.

The three vanished frescoes of the lower row represented the *Martyrdom of S. Potitus* and the *Translation of SS. Ephesus and Potitus from Sardinia to Pisa*. Spinello is at his best in scenes of action such as these. His broad, dashing style is full of movement, his drawing, though careless and generalised, regardless of proportion and of the details of the human body, is free and bold. His colouring is gay and transparent.

Beyond the entrance door is a series of frescoes attributed by Vasari to Giotto, representing *The Trials of Job*. From internal evidence it is quite clear that they are not by Giotto, and on the strength of certain entries in the records of the Campo Santo it has recently been thought that Daniele da Volterra painted them. One entry is, "the Story of Job in the Campo Santo was begun on August 4, 1371," others state that Francesco da Volterra received important payments in 1372 for materials used in painting and in restoring paintings in Pisa, others again that he was employed in the Campo Santo, together with Neruccio and a certain Berto. It has therefore been generally assumed that the frescoes were his. The best authorities, however, interpret these entries to mean that, in the Campo Santo at anyrate, Francesco and his assistants were merely entrusted with the restoration of some existing frescoes, and pronounce that at least one of the series, the Temptation of Job, is by Taddeo

Gaddi. Of the six, two only have survived in anything like perfect condition.

Job giving Alms and feasting his Friends is the first in the upper row. The left corner with the almsgiving is obliterated, but the feast in the centre is plainly visible, as is the episode of the Sabeans driving off Job's cattle on the right. Some of the heads and figures in this work are very graceful.

The Temptation of Job by Taddeo Gaddi is a fine creation, and the best preserved of all. To the left Satan stands before the Lord, who appears in an elliptical glory supported by six angels, and obtains His permission to tempt Job. Below is a wonderfully beautiful sunset landscape with rocky islands in a calm sea.

In the middle is the Invasion of the Sabeans, Satan hovering on bat's wings above the slaughter. Herdsmen hurriedly drive off their flocks, and to the right the survivors are destroyed by fire thrown by the demon. The various scenes are here portrayed with a simple and attractive realism.

Job and his Friends, under it, is the other decipherable fresco. It is divided into several episodes. The friends of Job kneel on the ground, or stand by the side of the reclining Patriarch who is naked and covered with boils, their numerous train of men and horses remaining outside ; Job kneels before the Lord ; the Lord appears to Job's friends and rebukes them. To the right is a group of men driving camels and elephants.

Nothing but the kneeling figure of Job receiving the news of his misfortunes (beyond the monument of Algarotti), is visible in the other frescoes. The composition of these works is animated, and they betray a detailed study of form.

The *West end* has two huge late frescoes, repre-

senting *The Story of Esther*, by Agostino Ghirlanda. They have a certain decorative charm, but are chiefly interesting from the number of portraits they contain, including those of Cosimo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Urbino (in a turban), the Emperor Charles V., who is on horseback near the Duke of Urbino, and Amerigo, Prince of Carrara.

The rest of the wall is covered with the totally uninteresting *Story of Judith* by Paolo Guidotto of Lucca.

Besides being the resting-place of many famous sons of Pisa, the Campo Santo is a museum of sculpture—Etruscan, Roman, and Mediæval. The collection is an ancient one. The many Etruscan and Roman sarcophagi ranged round the outside of the Duomo during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were removed and placed in here when the marble platform that surrounds the cathedral was built in 1293. By the addition of numerous tombs from the Duomo after the fire and during the restorations of 1602, the gallery of sculpture assumed considerable dimensions. It became a recognised sight for tourists, and is mentioned by many of the old travellers, including John Evelyn and Queen Christina of Sweden, who called it "the Noble Museum." Large numbers of statues and relics were added in the early nineteenth century, collected from every part of the city and province by the indefatigable Cavaliere Carlo Lasinio, conservator of the Campo Santo.

On the *South side*, to the left of the entrance, is a pretty little Madonna and Child on a column, of the Pisan school. Beyond is the rather vapid monument by Thorwaldsen, who was then living in Rome, of the oculist Andrea Vacca, who died in 1826, with a relief of Tobias anointing his father's eyes. Nos. $\frac{36}{39}$ and $\frac{40}{37}$ are headless late-Roman statues of senators.

Opposite the door are various ancient sarcophagi, notably No. $\frac{\text{LIII.}}{\text{LI.}}$ with a boar hunt, and No. $\frac{\text{LVI.}}{\text{LIV.}}$ shaped like a house with tragic masks at the angles. The tomb of Count Algarotti, the Venetian philosopher, who was chamberlain to Frederick the Great and died in 1764, is near the corner. It is the work of Tesi and Branconi, and though not beautiful is interesting because erected by command of his royal master, who characteristically enough forgot to pay for it. The inscription compares Algarotti, who by his own desire is styled Newton's disciple, to Ovid.

The first thing that arrests the eye at the *West end* is No. 44, a lovely classic frieze, the decorative pattern which runs along it being woven of dolphins, tridents, and seaweed. This exquisite work was evidently considered mere raw material in the middle ages, for the back is carved and inlaid in panels with rosettes very like those round the font in the Baptistery. No. XI. is a fine sarcophagus with full-length figures of senators, and No. $\frac{61}{42}$ is a seated Madonna and Child, headless, alas, but beautiful, attributed to Giovanni Pisano, but more likely by one of his followers. No. CCC. is a tombstone with an early mediæval inscription, and beyond is a tablet recording the names of the Pisans who fell in 1848 in the War of Independence. "They went to the war for Pisa, they died for Italy," says the inscription. No. 46 is the monument of Count Bonifazio della Gherardesca de' Conti de Donoratico, il Vecchio; of Gherardo, or Gaddo, his son, and of Bonifazio Novello, his grandson, Lords of Pisa. What we see is a fragment only of the original monument erected over their graves in the church of S. Francesco, the greater part of which was the work of Tommaso Pisano. The sarcophagus, with the effigy of the portly Count Bonifazio il Vecchio, executed with pitiless realism, was formerly surmounted by two

rows of Gothic canopies containing statues.[1] The effigies of Gaddo and of Bonifazio Novello are carved in low relief on the sarcophagus, which is further adorned with reliefs of Christ, the Virgin, and saints. Count Bonifazio il Vecchio, it will be remembered, was taken prisoner by the Genoese at the battle of Meloria in 1384. By his surrender, and by the treachery and tragic death of Count Ugolino, the prestige of the Gherardesca family suffered a terrible blow. Bonifazio survived his disgrace for twenty years, retrieving some portion of his lost popularity by his munificent legacies to the Misericordia of Pisa in 1313. His son Gherardo, or Gaddo, made himself extremely popular with the Pisans by expelling the tyrant Uguccione della Faggiuola, and revived the fallen glories of his race. Count Bonifazio Novello, commonly called Fazio, his son, "Friend of the People, Pacifier of every discord," founded the University, improved the walls, and conferred innumerable other benefits on the city. Near the Gherardesca monument is that of Dante's ideal Emperor, Henry of Luxemburg. "This new Moses, This most clement Henry, Divus Augustus Cæsar," as he called him. Henry died at Buonconvento, near Siena, poisoned according to German authorities by a Dominican friar while receiving the sacrament. His remains were temporarily deposited in the church of Suvereto in the Maremma, from whence they were translated to Pisa by a concourse of more than three thousand persons. Remembering his ambitions his is a pathetic figure. His attempts to exalt the imperial dignity were doomed to failure, for the ideal he represented was a dead one. "One would think," says a French writer, "when looking on his effigy, that he was still exhausted by his ill-

[1] See plate at end of *Difesa De Conti della Gherardesca*, etc., Maccione. Lucca, 1771.

fated enterprise; he looks as if he slept badly and were not at his ease, even in death. Fragments of a mantle of cloth of gold were found when his coffin was opened which crumbled into dust immediately; fit emblem of his fate. The dust of the imperial mantle is all that was destined to survive of the projects of Henry VII., and of the hopes of Dante."[1] The simple and pathetic if rather clumsy figure of the Emperor, wrapped in a robe decorated with the eagles and the lions of the guelphs and ghibellines, lies on a white marble sarcophagus. His hands are crossed, his head rests uneasily on a pillow. The sarcophagus is decorated in front with eleven mediocre figures of apostles, and a mournful saint guards either end. The whole was originally coloured. Below is the inscription recording the translation of his remains. Tino di Camaino, a pupil of Giovanni Pisano, began the monument in 1315, but it was finished by Lupo di Francesco, Capo Maestro of the Duomo. It stood originally behind the high altar of the Duomo, and later in the chapel of S. Ranieri. No. 51 is a modern statue of Giovanni Pisano by Salvini. Tribolo's monument to Bartolommeo Medici, a well-known warrior who died in 1556, occupies the whole height of the wall near here. The effigy of Bartolommeo is very fine. Near it stands a terribly prosaic bust of Cavour. Above hang the ancient chains that once closed the entrance of Porto Pisano, taken by the Genoese in 1362. One piece was then hung in triumph on the Porta Vacca at Genoa, and in 1860 was given back to Pisa; the other, presented by the Genoese to the Florentines who suspended it over the door of their Baptistery, was restored by them to the Pisans in 1848. No. XII. is a Roman sarcophagus with genii representing the four seasons, portraits of a

[1] *Voyage Dantesque*, J. J. Ampère.

husband and his wife, and theatrical masks. On it stands a small Roman relief of a banquet. No. XIII., the sarcophagus of G. Bellicus Natalis Tebanianus Cos., one of the quindecem viri Flaviali, is interesting. No. LL. is the tomb of Pietro Ricci, Archbishop of Pisa (d. 1418), with a good recumbent figure; No. 36, a short porphyry column bearing an Ionic marble vase with a fine bacchanalian relief. From it Niccolò Pisano is said to have taken the figures of the high priest and of the boy for his pulpit in the Baptistery. No. 55 is a small Madonna of the Pisano school, placed upon a mediæval capital, and 13 *bis* a huge striped sarcophagus with jutting-out heads.

On the *Nord side*, one of the most attractive things, No. 57, is a little Roman relief of the Three Graces. Beyond it, No. 60, is an interesting Greek stele of the post-Phidian age. It represents a seated matron with a nurse standing behind her holding a swaddled child in her arms, which Grassi says was brought from Greece by a Pasha.[1] It is much injured. Close to it, No. [illegible], is a sculptured architrave of the eleventh century, with the story of S. Silvestro and the baptism of Constantine, in two rows of rude and primitive reliefs. No. XV., a large sarcophagus, with male and female figures in high relief, has been made to serve as a table for various charming fragments of mediæval sculpture. Near this is No. [illegible], the relief from a mediæval tomb, by Bonamico, Christ surrounded by the Emblems of the Evangelists, with the inscription Opus Quod Videtis Bonamicus Fecit. P. Eo. Orate. The style is Byzantine, with the usual low-browed scowling Christ in a mandorla glory. The composition is better than the execution, and the whole effect is decorative. No. 32 indicates five separate Byzantine figures, David in the centre with harp and crown; and No. [illegible], early

[1] Pisa, e le Sue Adiacenze. Grassi, Pisa 1851.

inscriptions taken from the exterior of the Duomo, should be interesting to historians. No. XVI., a sarcophagus with a relief of the deceased upheld by genii, has been converted to Christian uses, as witness an inscription of the time of the Emperor Frederick III., with the date 1452 and the imperial eagles. No. 62, the Madonna and Child by Giovanni Pisano, is one of the finest things in the Campo Santo. The Virgin, a life-size, half-length figure, is gazing at the child, who sits on her arm. Her veil falls from under the crown in simple, dignified folds, framing her face. The peculiarly vivid sense of gravity conveyed by Giovanni's work is present here, causing us to feel the weight of the Child on His mother's arm and the push-back of her body to balance it. Calmer and less passionate than most of his work it has more of the classical inspiration and less of the French-Gothic. It stood originally over the door of the church of S. Ranieri in a lunette-shaped space, which accounts for its general outline. Near it are several interesting fragments of sculpture, No. 72 for instance, a very quaint Romanesque capital on a serpentine column. No. XVII., a sarcophagus with centaurs, deserves attention. No. $\frac{80}{73}$, a Madonna of the school of the Della Robbia, brings us to the door of the Ammanati chapel. On the further side of it is a rather nice relief of the Madonna and Child, No. 77. Of the numerous interesting sarcophagi that follow, No. LX., with a mediæval inscription, is worth noting; as are No. LXI., with a relief of Christ as the Good Shepherd; No. XVIII., with a rude Pisanoesque relief of the Nativity; No. XIX., with a bacchanalian relief and a mediæval inscription. One of the most beautiful objects in the whole collection stands upon it, the exquisite bust of Isotta Malatesta, wife of Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, by Mino da Fiesole, a clear-cut,

refined portrait of a lady, with the little cap and shaven brow of the fifteenth century, large prominent eyes with finely curved brows, high cheek-bones, and a shrewd humorous mouth. The lean neck and bosom are tactfully treated; and the pattern of the brocaded gown is exquisitely indicated. Beyond it is No. C., a rude sarcophagus, and No. $\frac{38}{30}$, a Pisanoesque half-length saint. Vasari writes with his usual inaccuracy of the sarcophagus No. XXI., "Among the many spoils of marble," he says, "brought by the armaments of Pisa to their city were several antique sarcophagi, now in the Campo Santo of that town: one of these, on which the Chase of Meleagar and the Calydonian boar was cut with great truth and beauty, surpassed all the others. . . . This sarcophagus, having been placed for its beauty by the Pisans in the facade of the cathedral opposite to S. Rocco, and beside the principal doors of that front, was used as a tomb for the mother of the Countess Matilda, if we may credit the following words inscribed on the marble. . . . Niccolò was attracted by the excellence of this work, in which he greatly delighted and which he studied diligently." In reality the Chase of Meleagar is not represented on this sarcophagus, but Phædra and Hippolytus. The aforesaid subject is to be found on a sarcophagus, No. XXX., further down on this side, and Vasari, apparently writing from memory, has probably confused the two, although No. XXI. is as feeble as No. XXX. is fine. The former was the tomb of the Countess Beatrice, in that Vasari did not err, and it was placed, as he describes, on the south side of the Duomo. It bears the inscription:

Quamvis peccatrix cum Domna vocata Beatrix
In tumulo missa jaceo que Comitissa. A.D. MLXXVI.

The choice of an antique sarcophagus as the resting-place of the mother of Countess Matilda is only one instance of a habit which dated back almost to the beginning of the Christian era, and was inaugurated by the Emperor Constantine, who caused his mother Helena and his daughter Constantia to be buried in fine antique sarcophagi of porphyry. It is amusing to read that Pisa was considered by the admirers of the Countess Beatrice to be unworthy of the honour of preserving her remains. Donizone, her contemporary biographer, called the city sordid and abominable, lamenting that she was not buried in Canossa, a pure place and worthier of so high an honour. After this we have more sarcophagi, No. XXIII., a striped one; No. XXIV., with the story of Cupid and Psyche and a mediæval inscription; No. XXV. has amoretti; No. XXVI., a wedding; No. XXVIII., sea deities; No. XXIX., dancing gods. The sarcophagi in this part of the Campo Santo are all more or less interesting, but too numerous to mention individually. Most of them have been adapted as mediæval sepulchres, as can be seen by the Christian emblems, the mediæval coats of arms, and the Gothic inscriptions which have been rudely carved upon them. No. $\frac{88}{95}$, and No. 92, small once-coloured reliefs, should not be missed, nor No. 96, a small relief of a man's profile. No. $\frac{100}{106}$, is a small Pisanoesque Madonna on a column, No. $\frac{104}{1103}$, a Roman altar with a mediæval inscription. Nos. 105, 106, and 107 are interesting Roman reliefs. No. 116, an Etruscan urn, represents a contest with a monster. No. 125, a work of the Pisan school of the fourteenth century, is a life-size group of the Emperor Henry III. between two councillors, who stand on either side, a rather rude work. No. 120 is another Etruscan urn with the death of Priam; and No. XXX. is the Roman sarcophagus with the hunt of Meleagar, referred to above. No.

XXXI. is a sarcophagus on which stands what is historically one of the most interesting objects in the Campo Santo, a small marble relief of the old Port of Pisa with its towers and fortifications, probably one of the most authentic representations in existence. No. 133 is

THE HIPPOGRIFF, CAMPO SANTO

the ancient Pisan heraldic cross of 1157, and No. XXXII. is a Roman sarcophagus with a battle of barbarians carved on it in high relief and of a better style than most of the sarcophagi here. No. 127 is a statue of a bishop.

At the *East end* is a huge Etruscan sarcophagus, No. XXXIII., with a representation of the Muses and reclining statues of a husband and wife, and near it is the famous bronze Hippogrif, or Griffin, which once

stood on the pinnacle of the Duomo. The work of Arabian artists, it was part of the booty brought back from the Balearic Islands in 1114, and is covered with fine patterns and inscriptions in Cufic, which have been interpreted thus:

> "Perfect blessings and graces
> Perfect beatitude and perennial peace
> Perfect health, felicity and strength
> To him who possesses it."

The sarcophagus of Filippo Dezio (d. 1535), by Stagio Stagi, is the only object in the Campo Santo mentioned by John Evelyn, who, when telling the story of the miraculous properties of its soil, continues: "'Tis cloistered with marble arches, and here lies buried the learned Philip Decius, who taught in this University." No. CC. is the tomb of Bishop Juliano Antonio; No. XXXIV., a Roman tomb. An Etruscan altar, No. 128, with rams' heads at the corner is fine. No. EE follows: the tomb of Matteo Curtio; and the modern statues of Leonardo Fibonacci (1863) and of Paolo Savi, the ornithologist (1887), with various other modern statues, one of Niccolò Pisano, by Salvini, among them.

On the *South side*, near the corner, are two most interesting inscriptions of the times of the *Colonia Julia Pisana*, decreeing that the municipium should hold a solemn sacrifice to the dead every year in honour of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the nephews of Augustus. The first was found when the foundations of the Duomo were restored after the fire of 1596. The other was discovered about the same time in S. Maria della Spina, where it served as an altar, the inscription having been placed face downwards. Several other Roman inscriptions follow, and three Roman milestones. Opposite are several interesting sarcophagi; No. LXXVII., with garlands and genii and an inscrip-

tion of 1245: No. LXXVIII., a medieval one; and No. LXXXIX., striped. Returning to the other side, we find, near the tomb of Mercuna, the historian of Pisa, Nos. 169 and 170, two cinerary urns. No. XXXVIII., a sarcophagus with garlands and genii, supports two Roman busts. Various fragments of Pisanesque sculpture appear under the Nos. 165 and 173; while Nos. 171 and 166 are more cinerary urns. On the cover of No. XXXIX., a fine sarcophagus with the Rape of Proserpine, stand busts of Julius Cæsar and Vitellius. No. XL., is a graceful female head of Roman work; No. XLI., part of a Roman mosaic pavement found near the Duomo. Opposite is No. LXXXI., a sarcophagus with rude figures of gods: No. XXXVI., with a mediæval inscription: and No. LXXXIII., with a shield of the same period. A number of Etruscan cinerary urns, with reclining figures of the deceased, are at present temporarily paved together in the ambulatory, their ultimate destination being as yet unknown. No. 186 is a fine capital: No. XLII., a mediæval sarcophagus with foliage, and an inscription stating that it was the burial-place of the nobles of Porcari. No. LXXII. is the sarcophagus which serves as the tomb of the Beato Giovanni Gini, as already stated; beyond it is No. B, a bust of Hadrian: No. LXXXIV., opposite, is a striped sarcophagus with lions at the corners: No. 4 is a bust of Junius Brutus: No. 3, a sarcophagus with marine gods and genii, and a mediæval inscription: and No. H., a sarcophagus with a combat of Romans and barbarians. Opposite is A, a small pyramidal urn, in which the bones of Vanni and Jacopo d'Appiano were placed in 1557. Near it is No. XLVIII., an early Christian sarcophagus with Christ as the Good Shepherd; No. XLIX., mother, with lions: No. 16 is a fourteenth century relief from the

tombs of the Uppezinghi, representing their reconciliation with the Donoratico by means of a marriage, attributed to Tommaso Pisano. No. $\frac{IV.}{V.}$ is a fine sarcophagus with naiads and marine gods; No. V. a striped sarcophagus with lions eating horses, a mediæval imitation of a Roman sarcophagus by Biduino, the twelfth century sculptor of the reliefs at S. Casciano, with an inscription that is one of the oldest in the Italian language. No. VI. is a sarcophagus with naiads; No. LXXIII., another with the open door of a tomb; No. IX., a sarcophagus converted into a mediæval tomb. Next to the door of entrance is an Etruscan sarcophagus with reclining figures of a man and his wife.[1]

[1] The numbering of the sculpture in the Campo Santo cannot be commended. Three different kinds of indication are used, Roman and Arabic figures, and capital letters. Some objects have two numbers, some none at all. As we go to press a re-arrangement is going on, so that it is possible that the above numbers will no longer be accurate.

CHAPTER IX

"The labour of an age in piléd stones."—*On Shakespeare*, Milton.

"Portaron i Pisani con altra preda
Da Majorca le colonne e porte."
—*Dittamondo*, Book II., chap. xxiv. p. 174.
Fazio degli Uberti.

"How beautiful do columns become when they support a roof! how superior to their effect as an idle decoration! What variety in these, still changing their combinations as you pace along the aisles! how finely do their shafts of oriental granite harmonise with the grandeur of the pile, while their tone of colour deepens the sombre which prevails here in spite of a hundred windows."—*Italy*, p. 9, J. Forsyth.

Hoc fuit antiquum festum
Sancti Sisti nobile
Qui sunt semper Pisanorum
De celo victorie.
Mediæval Carmen.

Churches

The Churches in Chinsica: S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, S. Agata, S. Maria della Spina, SS. Cosimo and Damiano, S. Cristina, S. Sepolcro, S. Martino in Chinsica, S. Andrea in Chinsica, S. Domenico and the Ricovero per Mendicita, and S. Maria delle Carmine. Churches north of the River: S. Silvestro, S. Marta, S. Matteo, La Madonna di S. Matteo, S. Pietro in Vincolis, S. Andrea Forisportæ, S. Michele in Borgo, S. Paolo al Orto, S. Francesco, S. Caterina, S. Anna, S. Torpè, SS. Ranieri and Leonardo, S. Eufrasia, S. Sisto, S. Stefano dei Cavalieri, S. Frediano, S. Salvadore

or the Madonna de' Galletti, S. Niccolò, and S. Vito.

OF the numerous Pisan churches some few only are architecturally beautiful, but many are historically interesting. After the Duomo, *S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno* bears the palm for architecture, and may, therefore, fitly be considered first. The noble pile is a conspicuous object on the south bank of the river. Its beautiful façade and little red-tiled dome gleam through the green tracery of the lime-trees that shade the Lung' Arno, and the large lawns that surround it on two sides isolate it into the position of importance to which it is fully entitled. After the Duomo, it is, in fact, the most important church in Pisa, and has a façade which outdoes even that in the delicacy of its fancy and the beauty of its detail. Divided, as the Pisan-Romanesque façades always were, into two parts by a rich projecting cornice, it has three tiers of arcades above with exquisite slender shafts, some of them fluted or twisted, and one of them encircled by a serpent. In Lucca, the churches were frequently ornamented with carven shafts, but this is the only instance in Pisa. The lower half has the usual five great panelled arches and three doors; but with a delightful oddity the two arches on the right are ogival, with rich zigzag mouldings, while the other three are round and have delicate foliate mouldings. This seems to point to gradual and piecemeal building, but who can account for the capricious fancy of the mediæval church-builders? The central arch springs from two projecting lions, a possible indication that this part at least of the church was the work of the Comacine builders, the combination of arch and lion being one of their chief symbols. Panelling of the most exquisite proportions clothes the walls all round.

S. PAOLO A RIPA D'ARNO

In the upper story it has round half-columns, but square pilasters below, and the workmanship of the whole exterior is superior to that of almost any other church of the style. The first ten feet or so of the walls are built of massive blocks of stone, which give place higher up to blue and white marble in alternate stripes. Time has laid a mellowing hand on its crude surface, welding the blue and white together with rosy and russet stains.

Quite as lovely is the interior, though instead of elaboration and fancy its dominant note is a stern simplicity. The restorer's hand, which has not spared the exterior, has dealt even greater destruction here, and the dim light filtered through the narrow lancet windows falls on naked stone walls and a bare timber roof. This matters the less that the proportions are very beautiful and the columns grandly massive. Well worth examining are their capitals, especially the second on the left with its archaic figures of S. Paul and the Redeemer. They are coeval with the church, an unusual circumstance in Pisa where so many were stolen from Roman temples. But however fine this effect of religious and dignified austerity, when we remember that these walls once glowed with the brilliant colours of frescoes by the hands of the great masters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we cannot but lament the vandalism that has swept them away. Vasari admired them greatly, and has a great deal to say about them. According to him they represented stories from the Old Testament and from the life of S. Anastasia, and were the work of Cimabue, of Buffalmacco, Simone Martini, Lippo Memmi, and Bruno di Giovanni, and he asserts that the church became famous because of their beauty. The high altar was surmounted, he adds, by a picture which was the joint work of the

two Sienese painters, while the altar of S. Ursula had a panel by Bruno of *S. Ursula saving the City of Pisa from a flood.* Of all these works the last is the only survivor; which after many vicissitudes has drifted into the Museo Civico.[1] The frescoes were probably injured by the inundations which time after time filled the church with water, and finally perished in the seventeenth century. The "restorers," who were then at work, saw no beauty in these childish barbarisms, and whitewashed them with such destructive zeal that when, in 1850, efforts were made to recover them, practically nothing was saved. Two fragmentary figures of S. John the Evangelist and S. Francis, on the pilaster to the left of the high altar, are all that remain to suggest the past glories, except a morsel of fifteenth-century fresco on the right wall. Some treasures the church still retains, among them one picture of interest, an altarpiece by Turino Vanni over the altar on the left, *Madonna Enthroned with SS. Ranieri and Torpè.* The workmanship is careful and detailed, and recalls the manner of Taddeo di Bartolo. It is inscribed *Turinno Vannis de Rigule, Depenxit.*, A.D. MCCCLXXXXVII.[2] On the right of the entrance is the Roman sarcophagus which formed the tomb of Burgundio, the famous twelfth century jurist and commentator of the Pandects, with a very laudatory inscription which records his many acquirements and gives the date of his death as 1194. For many years it stood outside the church and has only lately been restored to its original position.

More than a thousand years have passed over the head of the church of S. Paolo, if we may believe the persistent tradition which attributes its foundation to

[1] Sala iii. No 39. See p. 313 for description of it.

[2] Morrona discovered this picture in the suppressed church of S. Cassiano in Pisa in 1793, and had it brought here.

Charlemagne in 805. There is no contradictory evidence, while some indirectly supports the legend, so we may fairly allow ourselves to dream of paladins in connection with it. No stone remains to witness corporeally to so remote an antiquity, and the church we see belongs to the second half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. But the existence of an earlier church is well established. Not only have we the statement by a biographer of S. Giovanni Gualberto, who died in 1074, that the church of S. Paolo was presented to him by the Countess Beatrice for the use of his Vallombrosian monks, but there is also the positive evidence of a bull of Pope Paschal II., dated 1115, bestowing the church and the monastery on the same Order. As regards the Countess Beatrice, we have no means of judging whether the former story be true; it seems, however, to indicate that in 1115 the Vallombrosian monks had for some time been in possession of S. Paolo. She is known to have borne a most special veneration to S. Giovanni Gualberto, and whether or no she was the giver of the church to his Order, we may in any case believe that she bestowed upon it some of the vast donations which, towards the end of the twelfth century, made it one of the richest of monastic houses. In 1483 the Vallombrosians left S. Paolo, and after an interval, during which it was in the hands of lay patrons, it passed into the possession of the Order of S. Stefano. Cosimo I. conferred the patronage on Ugolino Grifoni[1] in 1565, whose family held it until the eighteenth century. In 1615 one of them, a certain Cavaliere Giovanni, made what contemporary writers call "grandiose restorations." To our ideas he seems to have obliterated every trace of beauty and

[1] Grifoni was a Florentine, and is said to have been the author of the statutes of the Order of S. Stefano.

individuality the church possessed, and to have transformed it into a stuccoed horror. In that state it remained until, in 1850, it was restored with great difficulty to something approaching to its original condition.

After the fire that so seriously injured the Duomo in 1595, the canons officiated for some years in S. Paolo, a fact that has earned for it the name of the *Duomo Vecchio*, or old cathedral, by which the people still call it. A legend has consequently arisen that it existed in its present form before the Duomo, of which it was said to be the model. But the Duomo was begun in 1063, and S. Paolo, as we have seen, not until the second half of the twelfth century. So the story falls to the ground.

Hidden away behind S. Paolo, in a courtyard which formerly belonged to the monastery, lies *S. Agata*, a pretty little octagonal chapel in the Romanesque style. It has a pyramidal roof which recalls S. Sepolcro, and, like it, has a northern look. Each of the eight sides has a triple window, save the one pierced by the door. The whole effect is simple and symmetrical, and is enhanced by the mellow red brick of which it is built. Now part of a Benedictine convent whose rule discourages the admission of visitors, it is a little difficult of access. A good view of it can, however, be obtained from the windows of the canonica of S. Paolo, by the courtesy of the prior of that church. Little is known of its history with any certainty. It probably dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and its position and general appearance suggest that it was the chapter house of the monks of S. Paolo. On the other hand, an inscription on the reliquary containing the skull of S. Agata, which is preserved in the church of S. Paolo, states that the chapel in the cloister of the abbey of S. Paolo was built to enshrine the holy relics of the

Catanian martyr, S. Agata. It was restored in the eighteenth century by Michele Grifoni.

Via S. Paolo and Via Fibonacci lead from hence to the Lung' Arno Gambacorti, near to *S. Maria della Spina*. This lovely token of mediæval piety is a familiar object in Pisa, and dominates the southern Lung'Arno, whose lines it interrupts very pleasantly. It is a tiny black and white marble church, embroidered, one is inclined to say, with strange intricate arches, pinnacles, and tabernacles. Standing on the very edge of the river, a few yards east of the Ponte Solferino, it is dimly reflected in the rushing waters. Marred now by the neatness consequent on its recent reconstruction, it must always have suffered from over-elaboration.

The credit of imagining the fantastic beauty of the wonderful little shrine is usually given to Giovanni Pisano, and it is said that the talent he then displayed obtained for him the privilege of designing the Campo Santo. This pretty story crumbles away in the sober light of fact. He may have contributed some statues, but, as we shall see, had no other connection with the church, originally built in 1230, at the joint expense probably of the Gualandi family and the Senate, in order that the Pisan mariners might place themselves under the protection of Our Lady before setting sail. How easy, as they dropped down the river with the swift flood, to moor their boat a moment to the Ponte Nuovo, while their bonnet was doffed for an Ave Maria. From this bridge the little church took its first name, S. Maria di Ponte Nuovo. Merely an open oratory consisting of the three arches that now form the choir, by 1323 it had become too small for the worshippers who thronged the narrow floor. The Senate then ordered its enlargement, and caused a river wall to be built in order to sustain the

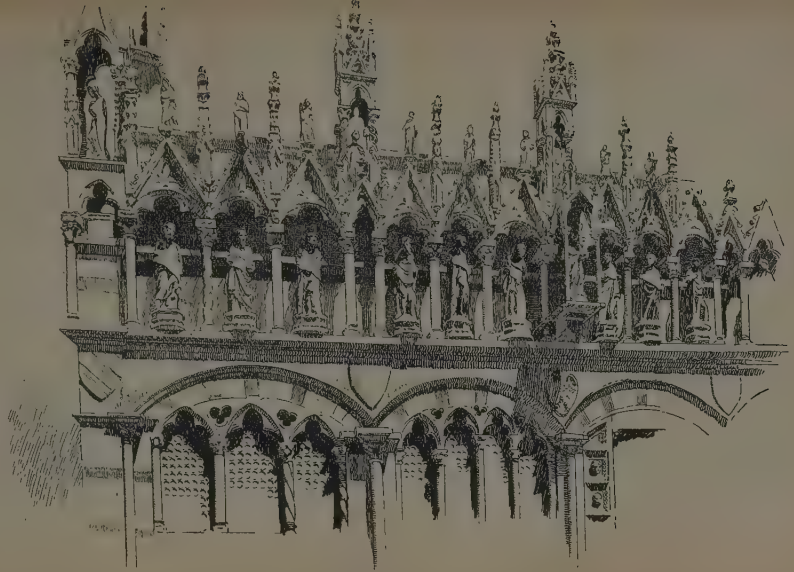
augmented edifice.[1] There is some reason to believe that Andrea Pisano was employed on this work, which may account for the idea that Giovanni was the first architect. After the destruction of the Ponte Nuovo in 1400, it became the repository of a small piece of the Crown of Thorns, and took the name of Our Lady of the Thorn. Brought from over seas by a Pisan merchant, the thorns were preserved with loving care in a little urn. Before faring again to distant lands he entrusted the precious relic to the care of his family. He never was heard of more, and one of his descendants, a Longhi, presented it to the church.

Centuries of peaceful existence passed, and S. Maria della Spina, mellowed by the sun and the sea breezes, assumed a perfection of colour and picturesqueness. Then, in 1869, an evil fate befel it. One of the great floods came down, the imperfect river-walls were powerless to control it, and the poor little church suffered grievous harm. So much so, that it was found necessary to reconstruct it altogether. In 1871 it was taken to pieces stone by stone and re-erected on a higher and safer foundation, so that it should be beyond the power of the waters. Under this drastic treatment it unavoidably lost much of its charm, but one cannot help thinking that more might have survived, had it not been for the restorer's zeal in making all things new.[2]

A mixture of the round and pointed styles, S. Maria della Spina is, together with S. Caterina, the most important late Gothic church in Pisa. The east end has the three original pinnacled arches and three little pyramidal spires, the west end three more ornate arches and six most gorgeous tabernacles. Comparatively

[1] Provvisioni e consigli degli Anziani di Pisa dal 1304 al 1336. Cav. 267.

[2] The original parts for which new ones were substituted are in the Museo Civico, and their number and condition bear out this remark.

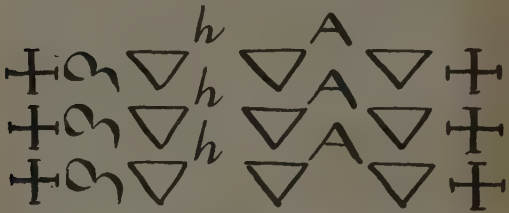


PART OF THE SOUTH FACADE OF S. MARIA DELLA SPINA

simple on the river side, an almost inconceivable wealth of decoration has been lavished upon the land side in the shape of a pinnacled arcade with many statues and tabernacles. The eastern door has a richly-carved architrave and two wheel windows, and, indeed, ornament of every kind is spread profusely over the whole of its surface, the workmanship of which is most delicate. Mere words can give little idea of the richness of the effect. The statues under the canopies are the originals, and, some of them at least, the work of Giovanni Pisano, or one of his pupils, and Vasari tells us that among them is a portrait of his father, Niccolò. One of the virgins of the pinnacles is by Nino or by Andrea Pisano. The interior is light and beautiful, architecturally much simpler, and contains some very interesting sculpture. The *Madonna della Rosa*, in a niche on the high altar, between statues of SS. John and Peter, is the work of Nino Pisano. Nino's work for polish and perfection was beyond that of all others of the school, but he grafted a mixture of realism and affectation on to the grandeur and dignity of the older masters. These contradictory qualities are to be seen in this exquisite statue. The Madonna, her face and gesture irradiated with mother love, holds out a rose, which the Child grasps at with infantine eagerness. Though the proportions are far from flawless, the carving is admirable. Traces of colour and gilding seem to indicate that these statues were orginally painted and gilt. Some marble panels behind the altar have graceful representations of the *Cardinal Virtues*, the work of Leonardo of Pisa, an *Operaio* of the church in 1462. On the side walls are the *Madonna and Angel of Annunciation*, by Mosca of Settignano, and the shrine that formerly contained the Holy Thorns, long since removed to the chapel of the hospital of S. Chiara. But the *Madonna del*

Latte, a half-figure of the Virgin suckling the Child, by Nino Pisano, is better than all; it is inserted as the centre-piece into a sixteenth-century marble altar-piece, and the gilding of the hair and drapery is still quite fresh. Maternal feeling could not be more sweetly or more realistically represented. Both the joy and the pain of motherhood are written on her bent face, and the animal content of the Child is wonderfully rendered. The drapery and forms are Giotto's, but the spirit is more realistic and less religious than his.

SS. Cosimo and Damiano, in the Via S. Antonio, is not far off. Founded in the ninth century, this little old church of the Pisan-Romanesque style, which has been much modernised, has no history of importance, but is worth visiting because of two early inscriptions of great interest on the door-posts, to the effect that the *Operarii* Giovanni and Vernaccio built it at their own expense. Under the inscription, on the right, are the following symbols three times repeated :—



These, together with similar ones to the left of the east door of the Baptistery on the façade of S. Frediano in Pistoja, on the Duomo of Barga, and on the church of Loppia, have long exercised the minds of antiquaries. That the symbols of which they are composed occur frequently among the mediæval masons'

marks of nearly all countries there can be no doubt, and the inscriptions are supposed by some authorities to be the signatures of the workmen and *Operai*. The similarity of the symbols used in all known cases is against this theory, and it is further pointed out that in every inscription occur the letters M, H, and A, in the same relation to each other. It is suggested that they should read *Malum hinc averto* (I avert evil from this place), and that it was a deprecatory sentence or charm to protect the person who entered the building on which they appear. The invariable proximity of the inscription to the entrance supports this view. Its advocates interpret the triangles which separate the letters as marks of punctuation merely.

Returning to the Lung'Arno, a very few minutes' walk brings us to *S. Cristina*, the ugly, modern-looking church, that forms an island in the roadway a few paces west of the Ponte di Mezzo. Those only who know its story are tempted to enter, and to them it is a holy place. They take no heed of the tedious 1816 architecture, but push open the door with reverence. For there, in the dim interior, was enacted a strange spiritual drama which has but one parallel in all history. The flaming seraph of Mount la Verna left the impress of his Lord's Wounds in the hands and feet of Francis, and here gentle Catherine of Siena believed that she was sought by a yet more awful visitant. Six centuries ago, and more, this happened, and even then S. Cristina was an ancient church. Its foundation takes us back to the days when pious Charlemagne sat on his throne, tall and straight-haired, and commanded that throughout the world he ruled over, churches should be raised to God and to His Mother and that ruined shrines should be restored. Then his paladins rode forth on their high war-horses to obey his behests, jingling and clattering

along in their golden harness and scarlet mantles. S. Bartholomew was the saint to whom they dedicated this church, which some say was among those they raised up from their ruins, while others assert that it was one of the new fanes.

Two uneventful centuries passed and then, in 1028, there came a great year for the church, when the relics of S. Cristina were brought from Bolsena and deposited here with clanging of bells and songs of thanksgiving. The church was re-dedicated to the holy virgin-martyr whose earthly part lay within its walls and drew so many worshippers to it. Among them came S. Catherine of Siena in 1375. The fame of the seraphic maid having been spread through the city by Fra Bartolommeo and Fra Tommaso Caffarini, her disciples, the Pisans ardently desired her presence. Repeated invitations were sent to her, certain nuns in particular constantly imploring her to come and win many souls to God. Even Pietro Gambacorti, then Captain of the People, wrote with his own hand beseeching her to come. But to all she answered in the negative, pleading, in reply to Pietro's letter, her ill-health and the risk that her presence might cause a scandal, owing to the strained relations between Gambacorti and the Sienese, because of the refusal of Pisa to support Siena against the rebellious Salimbeni. Her well-known modesty and shrinking from publicity must also be taken into account as important factors in her decision. This was towards the end of 1374, but before the new year was many weeks old she changed her mind, believing herself to have received a divine command to go to Pisa. To Pisa she went, accompanied as usual by some of her faithful disciples. Among the band were Monna Lapa, her simple, loving old mother, who refused to be left behind; Alessia Saracini, a noble widow, "first in perfection, and

Catherine's most faithful imitator" ; Lisa, "my sister-in-law according to the flesh, but my sister in Christ" ; and Cecca, or Francesca Gori, who, together with her three sons, wore the black and white habit of S Dominic. Besides these constant companions of her own sex, Fra Raimondo delle Vigne of Capua, who came of the same race as the unfortunate Chancellor of Frederick II., and was now her confessor and director, was of the party, together with Fra Bartolommeo di Domenico, and Fra Tommaso della Fonte, an old priest, who was her kinsman and first confessor.

The notoriety feared by Catherine was not to be avoided. As the little band of Sienese religious approached Pisa they found that the whole town had come out to greet them, headed by Pietro Gambacorti with his young daughter Tora. Archbishop Moricotto da Vico was there, and all the leading ecclesiastics and statesmen, besides large numbers of the Mantellate, or Sisters of Penance, who belonged to the Third Order of S. Dominic, which numbered Catherine herself in its ranks. The reception was a royal one ; the entry into the city a triumph.

Catherine was entertained in the house of Gherardo Buonconti, near the Church of S. Cristina.[1] Here she stayed some six months, working unceasingly to keep Pisa faithful to the Holy See. Concerning this matter she writes to the Pope soon after her arrival : "I beg of you to send the inhabitants of Lucca and Pisa whatever paternal words God may inspire you to utter. Help them as much as you can and encourage them to stand firm and faithful."[2] With equal ardour she

[1] Juxta Cappellam S. Christinæ. *Baronto di Ser Dato.*

[2] A recent writer throws doubt on this statement, and thinks that Catherine's letter and work for the Holy See belong to a later period. *S. Catherine of Siena.* Edmund G. Gardner. London : Dent, 1907.

worked for the crusade that she so passionately desired, but which never took place. She appealed alike to the great and to the humble, and many were the letters she sent forth into the world dated from the house of the Buonconti. One of the first was addressed to Giovanna, Queen of Naples, whose wild and irregular character called forth all Catherine's pity. To her she wrote: "Rise up then manfully, sweetest sister. It is no longer time to sleep, for time sleeps not, but ever passes like the wind. For love's sake lift up the Standard of the most Holy Cross in your heart." She wrote to the Genoese, to Mariano d'Oristano, Judge of Arborea, to Bartolommeo di Smeduccio, tyrant of S. Severino in the Marches. Elizabeth of Poland, Queen-mother of Hungary, was implored to use all her influence in persuading her son King Louis to take the cross. Enthusiastic promises of support poured in from every side, and vast numbers of Pisans were persuaded to join the crusade. But more remarkable still was the fact that she succeeded in extorting a promise from hard-headed Sir John Hawkwood to transport his marauding bands to the Holy Land, to fight for God instead of for the devil. At this time his fierce Company was terrorising Tuscany. He levied enormous sums in blackmail, first from Florence, then from Pisa and Siena, threatening in case of non-payment to sack the cities. This was more than Catherine could bear and she sent Fra Raimondo, armed with a letter from her to the great condottiere, into Sir John's camp. "I pray you sweetly in Christ Jesus," ran the letter, "that since God and our Holy Father have ordered the expedition against the infidels, and you delight so much in making war and fighting, you war no more upon Christians, because it offends God, but go against those others. How cruel it is that we who

are Christians, members bound in the body of Holy Church, should persecute one another. I am amazed that, after having promised (as I have heard) to go and die for Christ in this holy enterprise, you should now be making war here. This is not the holy disposition God demands from you." Either these words, or the persuasions of Fra Raimondo, so moved Hawkwood and his captains that, before Catherine's confessor left the camp, they all took a solemn oath to join the crusade whenever it should start. Her time was, however, not so completely taken up with these great matters that she did not find constant opportunities for refuting unbelievers, exhorting sinners, and strengthening the faith of the weak. "I heard her speak to certain sinners, and her words," says the blessed Giovanni Dominici, "were so profound, so fiery and potent, that they straightway transformed these vessels of contumely into pure vessels of crystal, as we sing in the hymn of S. Mary Magdalene that our Lord Jesus did to her." She won the hearts of two young girls, Gambacorti's daughter Tora and Catherine Munguto, gathered them into the Dominican fold, and supported their trembling faith with the strength of her enthusiasm. Many, indeed, were the occupations of this passionate but fragile woman. Although barely twenty-nine, her health was already broken by the ardour of her prayers and the rigour of her discipline. Never, however, were her business or her health allowed to interfere with her devotions. Sometimes she prayed in the church of S. Caterina, but more often in S. Cristina.

One Sunday, the fourth in Lent, she there received the Communion with her friends at the hands of Fra Raimondo. Her soul seemed afterwards as if it would leave her body in its ardent sighing after its Creator. "We waited," says Raimondo, "until she recovered.

. . . hoping to receive some spiritual consolation from her: when suddenly we beheld her, who till then had been lying prostrate on the ground, rise a little, and then kneel and extend her hands and arms. Her countenance was all on fire, and thus she remained for a long time, perfectly motionless. Then, as though she had received a deadly wound, we saw her fall suddenly, and a few minutes later she came to herself. She immediately sent for me, and said in a low tone: 'Father, I have to make known to you that by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ I now bear His Sacred Stigmas in my body.' I replied that I had guessed as much from what I had observed during her ecstasy, and asked her in what manner it had come to pass. She replied, saying: 'I saw the crucified Lord coming down to me in a great light, and for this, by the impetus of the mind that would fain go forth to meet its Creator, the body was constrained to rise. Then from the marks of the most Sacred Wounds I saw five blood-red rays coming down upon me, which were directed towards the hands and feet and heart of my body. Wherefore, perceiving the mystery, I straightway exclaimed: "Ah, Lord my God, I beseech Thee, let not the marks appear outwardly on my body." Then, whilst I was yet speaking, before the rays reached me, they changed their blood-red colour to splendour, and in the semblance of pure light they came to the five places of my body, that is, to the hands, the feet, and the heart. So great is the pain that I endure sensibly in all those five places, but especially in this my heart, that, unless the Lord works a new miracle, it seems not possible to me that the life of my body can stay with such agony, and that it will not end in a few days.'"

She lay for a week in terrible pain, and apparently at the point of death, but on the following Sunday it seemed to her that the new miracle she had spoken of

was performed. After once more receiving the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of Fra Raimondo, her strength suddenly came back. "I asked her," says the faithful confessor, who tells the tale, "saying: 'Mother, does the pain still last of the wounds that were made in thy body?' And she answered: 'The Lord has heard your prayers, albeit to the affliction of my soul, and these wounds not only do not afflict my body, but even fortify it; so that instead of receiving torment from them, albeit I feel them still, they bring me strength. . . . I see that our Lord at your entreaty has given me a longer time of affliction in this life, which I am glad of for the love I bear you.'"[1] Though invisible during her life, several witnesses testify that after her death the stigmas were distinctly visible.[2]

During Catherine's stay in Pisa it happened that the *Giuoco del Ponte* was played, and caused her some alarm. "One day in the church of S. Caterine she held loving communion with her and our crucified Lord; when on a sudden she was startled by the noise of trumpets and drums. But the Saviour bade her not fear, telling her that the sounds which she heard proceeded from no other cause than a game which was commonly played among the Pisans. And she, being moved thereto by lively charity, effectually besought Him that never for all time to come might any evil happen, by reason of that game, to him that played

[1] *Vita della Serafica Sposa di Gesu Cristo, S. Caterina di Siena*, translated from the Latin of Fra Raimondo by Bernardino Pecci. The English translation is chiefly taken from *S. Catherine of Siena*, by Edmund Gardner. London: Dent, 1907.

[2] An inscription on a fragment of one of the columns of the older church runs: "Here the Lord signed his servant Caterina with the sign of our redemption." Another inscription on the altar, close by, has the correct date 1375, but erroneously states that the miracle took place when she was on her way to Avignon, whither she only went the following year.

therein. Which thing was granted to her by the divine mercy." So says the legend. The influence of her prayers did not grow cold for centuries. The first and only fatal accident caused by the game did not happen until 1765.

A few hundred yards beyond the Ponte di Mezzo can be seen *S. Sepolcro*. Its tall tower, octagonal body and pyramidal roof, were built close to the river to remind the passing wayfarer of the sepulchre of his Lord. It ought to be one of the most interesting churches in Pisa, and still appears so in the distance. A nearer view discloses the fact that long neglect and a recent ruthless restoration have destroyed all its charm, and, indeed, everything but its mere form. The level of the church is considerably below that of the modern street, and it consequently stands in a melancholy sort of basement or area. Nothing really can be said about the architectural details, so modernised are they, except that the signature of Diotisalvi, the architect, has survived. Cut in the base of the campanile, it runs thus: *Hujus Operis Fabricator Ds. te salvet Nominatur*. It was originally the chapel of a hospice of the Knights Templars, founded by the Pisan crusaders about 1140 or 1150, therefore before Diotisalvi built the Baptistery. As the Order of the Knights Templars only dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, S. Sepolcro must have been one of the earliest of its seven Italian hospices. On the suppression of the Order, in 1312, under Clement V., its possessions were divided between the Teutonic Knights and the the Knights of Malta. S. Sepolcro fell to the share of the latter, and remained its property until that Order also was suppressed in 1808.

The old-world Via S. Martino is close at hand. At the end of it *S. Martino in Chinsica* will be seen standing isolated in a little piazza. It is a vast red-

brick Gothic church, of the usual Franciscan type. On the way to it the many noteworthy houses and towers in Via S. Martino should not be missed. No. 32 has a rude sculptured figure on the front, to which the name of Madonna del Chinsica has been given by the Pisans, in allusion to the legend that a lady of the Sismondi family, Donna Chinsica, saved the quarter from an attack of barbarous enemies by her cries. The legend, however, cannot be traced further back than the fifteenth century, and the statue is probably a fragment of a late-Roman sarcophagus.

Built on the site of an older foundation, S. Martino in Chinsica was erected by Count Bonifazio Novello della Gherardesco, in 1332, for Franciscan nuns. The seventeenth century saw its pointed Gothic windows replaced by incongruous square ones, and its façade defaced by rococo additions. The lovely relief over the west door is attributed rather uncertainly to Nino Pisano. A masterpiece of sentiment, the arrangement of the figures to suit the curved space is extremely dexterous. The half-naked beggar shows a careful study of the nude. There are some fourteenth-century frescoes in the interior. Two are in the chapel of the Sacrament, the first on the right, *Zachariah recovering his Speech* and *The Annunciation*; they are very architectural and rather Spinellesque in colour, and suggest the work of some remote follower of Giotto. The chapel has a much-restored painted ceiling of the same period, and some old pictures on the wall. Two fragments of a polyptych, each containing two figures on panel with gold backgrounds, are by Taddeo di Bartolo. The first represents SS. Christopher and Augustine, the second SS. Andrew and Bartholemew. A very large and elaborate Byzantine crucifix, with small scenes surrounding the figure of Christ, is a good specimen of its kind; another, made up in

modern times, incorporates five pleasant little pictures belonging to an ancient *armadio*. A lunette of *Christ and the Madonna* is rather Cimabuesque in type. Over the choir gallery, at the west end of the church, are several fourteenth-century frescoes from the *Life of the Virgin*: the Birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple. An altar to the left of the side door has an ancient crucifix imbedded in a garish mass of modern gilding.

The entrance to the old Fortezza, or fortress, is at the end of the street, and not far off will be found *S. Andrea in Chinsica*, a very humble and dilapidated little church in Via della Fortezza. It stands close under the city wall that formed the river boundary of the great Florentine fortress of 1515. Associated as it is with the most glorious period of Pisan history, the church deserves better treatment, and one longs to see the shattered windows mended and the mud wiped from its defiled walls.

Tronci's quaint account of the return of the Pisans from the Balearic Islands, and the foundation of S. Andrea, is that "the Pisans collected the corpses of their dead soldiers, among whom were many captains and gentlemen, and covering them with salt and divers other preservatives to prevent corruption they placed them on board a ship, with the intention of carrying them to Pisa for burial. Seeing, however, that this would greatly diminish the joy of the troops, they changed their minds and took them to Marseilles, where they buried them with great pomp and ceremony in the abbey of S. Vittore, bestowing large sums of money on the said monks for the benefit of their souls, and placing verses over their sepulchre. Having performed this pious action, they left the affairs of the conquered island in good order and set sail for their

much-desired mother country, into which they entered with inconceivable triumph. . . .[1] Not content with giving honourable burial at Marseilles to those who had fallen in the war in Majorca, the Pisans determined to build a church with a monastery attached in Pisa, for the monks of S. Vittore of the said city of Marseilles, where they might say masses and prayers for the souls of the dead soldiers. The church was built in the Chinsica quarter, where the fortress now is, and was dedicated to the glorious apostle S. Andrea; the monks were brought hither and sufficient money was given to them for their maintenance, and all this was done with the universal approval and content of the city."[2] This was in 1117, and the monks of S. Vittore remained there until 1405, when Giuliano, Archbishop of Tarsus, gave the church and the monastery to the Servants of the Blessed Virgin, who occupied them until driven out by the building of the Florentine fortress in 1515. The church, which stood in the way of the projected walls, was then reduced to its present modest proportions, and such remains of the monastery as had not already perished at the fall of the city were demolished. Ermingarda Buzzaccherini, the mother of S. Ranieri, was buried here, and some of the stories say that when the saint returned from the Holy Land he came straight to S. Andrea to pray at her grave, and that he abode there for a year. Others have it that he only stayed long enough to preach to the people, and then went on to S. Vito, where he died.

Via Brixio leads from the Porta Fiorentina to the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele. Just out of it, in Via Vittorio Emmanuele, is *S. Domenico*. A church without architectural pretensions in its present modernised form, it keeps alive the memory of the blessed Chiara of

[1] *Annali Pisani*, i. 88. Tronci. [2] *Op. cit.*, i. 90.

Pisa, daughter of Pietro Gambacorti, the great captain and protector of the city. This holy woman, the destined reformer of the Dominican Order, was born in 1362. Her name was Tora. After the fashion of those days, she was betrothed while still a child to Simone di Massa, but when she was in her seventh year he went off to the wars and was slain on some nameless battlefield. Always a pious child, she then resolved to dedicate herself to God. The influence of S. Catherine of Siena, who came to Pisa when Tora was thirteen, had much to do with her decision. She was present with her father at the public reception of the saint, and no doubt instantly, like so many others, fell under her almost hypnotic influence. At any rate, a great intimacy sprang up between them, and continued even after the departure of S. Catherine. Evidently afraid that the young girl would succumb to the opposition of her family, the saint encouraged her by letter to stand fast in her holy purpose. She counselled her "to enter the bark of holy obedience; it is the safest way and makes a soul advance, not in her own strength only, but aided by that of the Order."[1] Again, she sets before her the nothingness of the world and the infinite treasures we possess in God: "If our heart be stripped of the world it will be full of God, but if it is empty of God it will be full of the world. We cannot serve two masters."[2] What wonder if such words from such a teacher conformed Tora in her resolution. When she was just fifteen, resisting the entreaties and even the violence of her father and brothers, she fled to the Franciscan convent of S. Martino, taking the name of Sister Chiara. But before she could make her profession her father, not unnaturally, dragged her home, where he kept her a prisoner for five months. Alphonsus di Vadaterra,

[1] Letter 322. [2] Letter 323.

Bishop of Jaen, her former confessor, who was her father's companion on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, then interceded with him, and Pietro Gambacorti not only consented to her taking the veil, but endowed this Dominican church and convent for her. Meantime she had become a sister of the Order at Fossabanda, but, with the consent of Urban IV., she migrated with four of her sister-nuns to the new foundation. From 1382 to 1420 she remained at its head, establishing such strict observance of the rule that her house became the cradle of a reform of the whole Order. After thirty-eight years she died, and the Pisans have never forgotten her. When her father was betrayed by the ungrateful Jacopo d'Appiano and lured to his death, together with his sons Benedetto and Lorenzo, the latter managed to break away from the murderers. Though wounded in the thigh he contrived to drag himself to the convent and take refuge with his sister. This was the moment, say her chroniclers, when the greatness of her faith and the sweetness of her nature were put to their severest test. She had but little space in which to comfort and fortify her brother before the murderers broke in and dragged him away to a secret death. Other writers say that out of mistaken respect to the sanctity of the cloister she refused him admission, and left him at the mercy of the murderers.

The finest work of art associated with the church is the banner painted for it by Fra Angelico, with a figure of the Redeemer. Lost sight of for a long time, it was found in a corner of the monastic buildings in the last century much injured by damp, after which it was transferred to the Museo Civico. But there is still one remarkable picture in the church, a *Crucifixion*, over the altar on the left, which was perhaps laid in by Benozzo Gozzoli, but evidently finished by some painter

who was strongly influenced by Domenico Ghirlandaio. The forty martyrs appear (martyred in early Christian days by being forced to stand up to the neck in icy water), filling the composition with a mass of heads and figures, while below is a very fine portrait of the donor by a different and greatly superior hand.

The skeleton of the blessed Chiara Gambacorti, dressed in the robes of her Order, is exhibited in a kind of opera box near the high altar, a somewhat gratuitously painful spectacle.

The greater part of the monastic buildings have been converted into the *Ricovero per Mendicità*, or workhouse, and there, in the former refectory of the nuns, will be found two frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli, both belonging to his latest period. A *Crucifixion* occupies the whole width of the wall, which, although superficial in feeling and very mannered in technique, forms a pleasant wall decoration. On the left are the Madonna, SS. Mary Magdalene, Peter Martyr, Dominic, Catherine and two mantellate, while on the right are SS. John the Evangelist, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent, Martha and two more mantellate. In the background is a city, possibly meant for Pisa, in the midst of a woolley landscape. In the sky appear the sun and the moon and some very busy-body angels. The whole picture is the work of a tired, feeble man.

To the right of it is a very much injured figure of *Silence*, a Dominican monk with his finger on his lip and a scourge in his hand. Two angels hold up a curtain in the background.

Further along Via Vittorio Emmanuele is *S. Maria delle Carmine*, standing shyly back from Via Vittorio Emmanuele in its own little piazza. Having been recently restored, it presents an appearance of monotonous neatness that is far from interesting. The interior is in the like case, but possesses a *Madonna*

Enthroned, attributed to Sogliani. The only part of all the building that gives any pleasure to the eye is a pretty early Renaissance cloister, with an upper ambulatory on one side. Even that is neglected and forlorn-looking, but is a very picturesque combination of orange trees and architecture. An inscription in the church records the migration thither of the Carmelite fathers of Caffagio, or Barbaricina, in 1328.

Crossing the river by the Ponte della Fortezza a few steps bring us to *S. Silvestro* in the Piazza S. Silvestro, near the Porta alle Piagge, whose long range of monastic buildings, with a mediæval campanile, is now used by the Government as a reformatory school. In the refectory is a large and attractive fourteenth-century fresco of the *Crucifixion*. Benedictine nuns from Monte Cassino were in possession of the church and the convent in 1118, since when they have passed from one Order of nuns to another.

The Via S. Marta leads straight to *S. Marta*, a quite uninteresting church as we now see it, but which contains an ancient *Crucifix* of the Pisan school in a little chapel to the right of the entrance. It was founded in 1342, when the nuns of various Orders were concentrated there. Retracing our steps to the Lung' Arno Mediceo, *S. Matteo* will be seen on the right, turning its flank to the river just beyond the Palazzo Vecchio, and thus disclosing a beautiful fragment of black and white Pisan-Romanesque work incorporated in a mass of Renaissance rubbish. This, one of the most beautiful buildings on the Lung' Arno, is best seen from the opposite side of the river. The interior belongs wholly to the Medicean reconstruction, and is ugly and featureless, save for the elaborately-painted ceiling by the brothers Melani, who flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is impossible to imagine anything more gorgeously tasteless. The

extraordinary medley of figures and architecture is intended to represent the celestial glories of S. Matteo, and is a very *tour-de-force* of deceptive perspective. A triptych by Pierin del Vaga, brought here from the convent connected with the church, hung until a year and a half ago on the left wall. It was then mysteriously stolen, was taken to Germany, and has only recently been recovered by the authorities of the Museo Civico, who are at present unable to exhibit it owing to a dispute concerning the ownership. The convent, now used as a prison, is unfortunately quite inaccessible, as it has a fine Gothic cloister with pointed arches, and is also said to possess frescoes. Under the date of June 1027, a document, formerly in the archives of the convent, relates the foundation of the church. It runs thus: "Donna Teuta, the wife of Idelberto, called Albitone, and daughter of Omici, commanded that a convent for women should be erected under the Benedictine rule, with the consent of her said consort, on his own land outside the city near the Arno." The next year another tells us that Albitone, her husband, "for the souls of the Emperors Henry II. and Conrad II., and for the salvation of that of Teuta, his wife, offers to God, to S. Benedict Abbot, to S. Matteo, etc., the church of S. Matteo," and further endows the new foundation with two dairies, farms and other lands. Ermingarda was appointed the first abbess, but the choice of all succeeding mothers was left to the nuns. Ermingarda's successors never allowed the Pope of their day to forget the claims of the house, as is proved by the numerous papal decrees in their archives conferring privileges upon the nuns. There is one of Paschal II., 1116; of English Adrian IV., 1156; of Innocent III., 1198; Honorius III., 1218; and Gregory IX., 1516; which latter conferred on the convent the

church of Villarada in the Val di Calci. Cosimo I. rebuilt the whole church in 1610, showing scant mercy on the old structure, which must have been very beautiful, sparing nothing but part of the river front, a characteristic piece of early twelfth-century work. A little church called *La Madonna di S. Matteo* stands quite close to S. Matteo on the Lung' Arno, which, though desecrated and used as a warehouse, shows traces internally of its original purpose.

About five minutes' walk along the Lung' Arno stands *S. Pietro in Vincolis*, commonly called S. Pierino, which lifts its brown gable at the junction of Via Palestro and Via Cavour. Characteristically Pisan, the façade is particularly interesting, as showing the modifications of the style when applied to smaller churches. The lower part is of the usual type, but all frippery of multiplied arcades falls away above and is replaced by one row of simple panelled arches. The old church makes a pretty picture when approached from the north, grouped with the graceful column of the Piazza Cairoli and the campanile and pyramidal roof of S. Sepolcro on the opposite side of the river. Each of its three doors is surmounted by a double window, the central one with a good piece of classical sculpture for its architrave. These old Pisan churches remind us that they are the lineal descendants of Roman temples by thus incorporating fragments of them. In this case we probably see one of the last remains of the temple of Apollo, which seems to have stood on this spot. The neighbouring houses have crept boldly up and entirely hidden the east and south sides of the church, but on the north it displays the usual flat arcades. Its campanile is a very workmanlike tower, whose dinted walls must have seen many a fight before they served to house the bells of holy church. Immediately inside the door a steep flight of

steps leads up into the church, an unusual arrangement possibly necessitated by successive changes in the bed of the Arno, and consequently of the level of the city, or perhaps by the need of lighting the crypt beneath. Anyhow, it gives a touch of the unexpected and the charming to the interior, which is borne out by a more complete view. While in no way different in its component parts from a dozen other churches, it has a mysteriously lovable quality that is hard to define. So clearly is this felt that it seems to affect even the resident beggar. Instead of sleeping and muttering prayers, as is the usual custom of such gentry, this old man enjoys life. He is always alert and smiling, and sits admiring, now the floor, now the columns of the warm interior, giving frequent vent to his pleasure with exclamations such as *Madonna mia*, what a church! Stupendous! Magnificent! and so on. At any hour of any day he may be found in this happy mood, and is so vivid a creature that he tinges one's recollections of the place. He does right to admire the floor, which has some very mellow *Opus Alexandrinum* of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The antique columns and capitals are well worth looking at, but capriciously wedded, a tiny capital perhaps crowning a huge shaft. Evidently, to the old builders a column was a column and a capital a capital. If the apse ever existed it has been squeezed out of life by the encroaching houses. A grim crucifix of the pre-Giunta school scowls down from the wall on the right, well preserved, and a good specimen of its dreary kind. The crypt, which dates from the eleventh century, if not earlier, is not accessible. Its low massive arches were once covered with frescoes representing figures of saints mingled with Arabesques. This gloomy vault, faintly lighted by lancet windows, was long used as a charnel house. Until recently a place of burial, it has a fine Roman

sarcophagus of the time of Diocletian built into one of the walls.

We have only fragmentary knowledge of the history of S. Pierino. The temple of Apollo, that ancient house of idols, as Tronci calls it, gave place to a Christian church in 1072, founded by Bishop Guido Pavese, together with a house for Canons Regular.[1] The church, no doubt a rude structure, was enlarged and practically rebuilt forty-six years later in the form it still retains. Even then it was a country church, and was not included in the city until fairly late in the twelfth century. It was near to S. Pierino, as we have seen, that young Ranieri went roystering by one day with his wild companions. As he passed, a word from one of his kinswomen changed his whole outlook on the world, and the next time he appeared there it was as Ranieri the penitent, as represented in one of Andrea da Firenze's frescoes in the Campo Santo, in which appears S. Pierino, or a church extremely like it.

Having turned to the east, along Via Palestro, we shortly reach *S. Andrea Forisportæ* in the Piazza S. Andrea, a plain little church of the Pisan-Romanesque style, with a façade of the twelfth or thirteenth century. A brick tower behind it, which serves for its campanile, is of much earlier date, in part at least, and was, no doubt, originally a fighting tower. Except for some good granite columns and ancient capitals, the interior is uninteresting. Built about the year 1100 on the ruins of a temple of Venus, S. Andrea is one of the directest links we have with Roman Pisa, and it is interesting as one of the churches whose names help to reconstruct the course of the ancient city walls.[2]

[1] According to a document in the archives of the Olivetan monks of S. Agnano, quoted by Tronci in his MS. Memoirs.

[2] See Chap. vi. p. 118.

Memories of the unfortunate poet-statesman Pier della Vigna linger here, where his self-slain body was buried. A poor lad, born in Capua of humble parents towards the end of the twelfth century, he was driven by love of learning to trudge on foot to the University of Bologna. His studies there were so successful, his disputations so brilliant, that he attracted the attention of the Emperor Frederick II., who made him secretary, protonotary and chancellor, and held him in the highest honour. All the Emperor's most important and secret business was entrusted to him, and there does not appear to be the slightest reason to suppose he was unfaithful to the charge. His whole nature seems to have been generous and noble. In his high estate he remembered the humble mother who had given him birth, and his simple sisters. Trouble came to him nevertheless. After the Council of Lyons, in 1245, a cloud of universal suspicion darkened the mind of *Stupor Mundi*, and he accused Pier falsely of treachery. Arrested at S. Miniato de' Tedeschi, he was brought bound on a mule to the church of S. Paolo a Ripa d' Arno, or, as some have it, to S. Andrea. So outraged and indignant was he at the injustice dealt to him, that rather than live humiliated he dashed out his brains against his prison walls.

This action was approved by Dante. Wandering in the horrid wood of the second circle of the Inferno he "plucked a branchlet from a great thorn;" and the trunk of it cried: "Why dost thou rend me? . . . Why dost thou tear me? Hast thou no breath of pity?" It was poor Pier della Vigna who spoke in this sad guise. "O wounded Spirit," says the Mantuan, "tell him who thou wast, that to make thee some amends he may refresh thy fame in the world above." "I am he," says the trunk, "who kept both keys of Frederick's heart, and turned them, locking and

unlocking so softly, that from his secrets I excluded almost every other man. So great fidelity I bore to the glorious office, that I lost thereby both sleep and life. The Harlot" (envy he meant) ". . . inflamed all minds against me; and these so inflamed Augustus that my joyous honours were changed to dismal sorrows. My soul in its disdainful mood, thinking to escape disdain by death, made me, *though* just, unjust against myself. By the new roots of this tree, I swear to you, never did I break faith to my lord, who was so worthy of honour."[1] Then Dante felt such pity in his heart that he could not speak.

The tomb of this victim of envy has perished, but the poets keep his memory alive—Dante, and our English Chaucer after him. Envy, says he:

> "Envie ys lavendere of the Court alway
> For she no parteth nyther night ne day
> Out of the house of Cœsar, thus saith Daunte."[2]

The Borgo Stretto, quite near S. Andrea Forisportæ, is one of the most ancient streets in Pisa, its narrow roadway obscured by tall deserted-looking houses, and the dark mysterious arcades thronged with figures that steal furtively along. They are good citizens no doubt, and bent on some quite normal errand, but the genius of the place imparts a strange and weird air to them.

S. Michele in Borgo stands like a guardian at the entrance of the street, its venerable grey façade rising above the mass of ancient houses and towers that huddle round its feet. Pagan and Christian, it has stood there for a long time; probably since the days of Augustus. It was dedicated to Mars then, and even when the time came for its transformation into the temple of a gentler cult, Michael, the warrior archangel, was chosen as its

[1] *Inferno*, Canto xiii. 30-80 (Carlyle's translation).
[2] *Legende of goode womene.*

patron. Hemmed in by big houses, the façade is the only visible part of the church. The upper part is a Gothic variant of the usual Pisan style, with trefoil arches instead of round ones, while the lower part, with its severely-plain masonry and round-headed doors, belongs to an earlier period. A Gothic tabernacle on the architrave of the central door contains statues of the Madonna and Child, with three saints, the kneeling one said to be the blessed Buono. Too large for the place, its crocketted pinnacles contrast rather unpleasantly with the delicate round arch beneath. It has been attributed to Fra Guglielmo, the builder of the façade, but is probably the work of some humbler sculptor of the Pisan school. The interior is basilican in form, and has fine antique columns and capitals. Rebuilt after a great earthquake in 1846, the roof is totally uninteresting. Above the second altar on the right is a *Madonna with SS. Catherine, Julian, and Peter*, by Taddeo di Bartolo, and over an altar on the left a beautiful carved crucifix of the school of the Pisani, which was removed from over the left door of the Campo Santo at the end of the eighteenth century. Some fragments of a pulpit of the same school, built into various parts of the church, are the only other objects of artistic interest.

The crypt is coeval with the lower part of the façade, and both belong to the eleventh century, though some authorities consider the former much older and assert that it shows traces of Roman origin. The massive vaulted chamber is supported by granite columns sunk to half their height in accumulated rubbish. Faint traces of Byzantine frescoes remain, with grotesque figures of hippogrifs, winged lions, sea-horses and eagles. It has been used as a wine cellar, and maltreated in various ways.

Suetonius tells us that Augustus, after his victory over Mark Antony, caused temples dedicated to Mars

to be erected not only in Rome but in her colonies. Among them was probably the temple that preceded the church of S. Michele. Ruinous and decayed, it survived to the early middle ages, serving for who knows what base uses. About the year 1000 the cloud that veils its history is lifted for a moment and we see it in the hands of a certain Stefano, a man of note among the citizens. Part of the temple had already been transformed into a church, and we learn that he had a pious longing to make it worthier of its purpose, and to that end he appealed to the famous Camaldolesian monastery of Nonantula for help. In answer to his prayer two monks were sent him in 1018, the blessed Buono and Pietro, his uncle. Buono belonged to the great Visconti family, and was born in Pisa in 990. He took up his abode in a little house with a tower close to the temple-church, which he dedicated to S. Michael and placed under the Benedictine rule; the monks he gathered together living at first in miserable little wooden sheds hastily run up against the walls of the church. He appealed to the pious, and their gifts poured in so quickly that before five years had passed he had rebuilt the church and added a campanile to it. So great was his zeal for its beauty that he wandered as far as Rome to dig antique columns out of the ruins for the adornment of its interior. He visited Luni and the Isle of Elba for the same purpose, and indeed was for ever eager in its service, even gathering together numerous precious manuscripts, which formed the nucleus of its library. As long as he lived he went on beautifying and enlarging his beloved church and monastery, replacing the first simple campanile by a splendid one with seven bells. When, in 1040, all was complete and in fair order, Opizo Uppezinghi, Bishop of Pisa, consecrated the new buildings and rewarded Buono for his toil by appointing

him their first abbot. The church was further enlarged in 1219 and in 1262, and the façade was added in 1304 by Guglielmo Agnello, the chief pupil of Niccolò Pisano.

At the top of Borgo Stretto, Via S. Francesco, on the right, should be followed, pausing for a moment on the left at *S. Cecilia*, an ancient foundation of the Camaldolesian Order, which dates back to 1103, and has a picturesque campanile supported by a column in the interior of the church.

A little further along, on the right, is *S. Paolo al Orto* in the Piazza S. Paolo, an attractive-looking church, with a truncated but exquisite façade and a gaunt Renaissance campanile. The façade ceases to be interesting immediately above the five arches of the lower story, but there is enough left to show us that it is one of the oldest in Pisa and must have been one of the most perfect. The interior is entirely modernised, but has an interesting old crucifix over the high altar. The latter also has an interesting *gradino* of *brocatello*. The church is now in the possession of the lay Confraternity of S. Barnaba, whose function it is to carry the dead to their graves, and the adjoining monastery is full of its elaborate paraphernalia of banners, palls, crucifixes, and robes. Banners and palls there are of differing degrees of magnificence, and the *custode* discourses with a nice knowledge of the social status of corpses, and knows those that should be honoured with the best and those that can be put off with a simpler pall.

Marangone is the first writer to mention the church. He says: "There was but one garden in the city, where is now S. Pavolo al Orto." There are other gardens in Pisa now, but S. Paolo still preserves the memory of the oldest of them, in its name *Al Orto*. It is said to have been founded in 1100, from which period its façade dates.

At the end of the street is *S. Francesco*, one of those great gaunt churches by which the followers of the little poor man of Assisi tried to express his ideal of poverty. Its tall red campanile can be seen from every side, and would almost serve for a guide as we walk up the Borgo and turn into Via S. Francesco. This takes us to the piazza of the same name, where rises the lofty church with its very incongruous Renaissance stone façade. To the left is the outer cloister where the Museo Civico is now housed.

S. Francis visited Pisa, it is said, in 1211, preaching the word of eternal life to the people, and among the disciples that he won was a young man called Agnello degli Agnelli, and another named Alberto, whose surname is unknown. Having assumed the grey frock of the Franciscans, these youths made rapid progress in the path of holiness, says their chronicler, so much so that in the same year S. Francis laid upon them the task of preaching the gospel in distant France and England. With prompt obedience they set out to obey his behest, but some obstacle delayed them, and in the interval they employed their zeal in founding a humble house of the Order in their native town.[1] Their small shrine was replaced in the fourteenth century by this enormous brick structure, not unlike S. Croce of Florence in its general lines. In common with many Franciscan churches, it consists of one single vaulted nave and a choir with three chapels on either side. Wandering in the dark interior, with footsteps echoing in the great

[1] The blessed Alberto passed into England and there preached the doctrine of holy poverty. Regarding Oxford as the fittest place from whence to propagate the faith, he settled there and won the favour of Henry III., who gave him land near the city walls on which to build a church and monastery. Later, he founded a school for the study of theology, providing it with learned masters. In 1232 he died, and was buried at Oxford in the church of his Order.

empty space, the fitness of the architectural style to house an order of preachers impresses itself upon the mind. Out of the gloom dim forms gradually detach themselves from the chapel walls. They prove to be frescoes by Taddeo Gaddi and the whole roof of the choir is covered with them. We have a letter of Taddeo's to Marco Strozzi,[1] in which he tells us that he painted them by the order of Gherardo and Bonaccorso Gambacorti for the glory of the Franciscan Order. *S. Francis in Ecstasy*, with Faith and Hope hovering in the air beside him, occupies a prominent place. In the next compartments, saints are seen in pairs; S. Dominic is opposite S. Augustine; S. Francis, who carries a book with these words: TRES ORDINES HIC ORDINAT, opposite S. Louis of Toulouse; S. Benedict opposite S. Basil. Obedience occupies one angle, in the others are figures typifying Temperance; Wisdom, laden with books; Humility; Chastity, bearing a lily and a vial; Fortitude, with a pillar and a shield; and Penitence, with an instrument of flagellation in her hand. There is elegance and simple grace in the figures, and the draperies are beautiful. The space is arranged in the manner of Giotto, to which Taddeo was ever faithful. Save a small fragment the frescoes on the walls of the choir have disappeared, and so has the signature recorded by Vasari.[2]

The high altar has a fine sculptured *reredos* by Tommaso Pisano, only lately replaced here after a long sojourn in the Campo Santo. The Madonna and Child, supported by angels, form the canopied centre piece, with three saints on either side under

[1] See *La Scrittura di Artisti Italiani*, riprodotto con la fotografia. Florence. Carlo Pini, 1871.

[2] Magister Taddeus Gaddus de Florentia pinxit hanc historiam Sancti Francisci et Sancti Andrae et Sancti Nicolai A.D. MCCCXLII. de mense Augusti.

crocketted Gothic niches. The predella has scenes from the life of Christ. The effect of the whole is picturesque and decorative, but the sculptor was evidently an artist of second-rate power.

The second chapel on the right has no pictures now, but must once have been frescoed all over. Known as the Gherardesca chapel, it was the burial place of the family for some centuries, and their tombs and shields are to be seen on every side. On the right is a plain rude slab of stone set upright in the wall. Although without any image or superscription to record the fact, it marks the spot where the bones of the five poor victims of the tower of famine, Ugolino della Gherardesca, his sons, and his grandsons were buried some ten years ago when they were removed from the tomb in the cloisters where they had lain so long.

In the first chapel to the left of the high altar are some frescoes that were discovered in 1902, but in such deplorable condition that it is very difficult to decipher them in the dimly-lighted chapel. A careful examination, however, seems to reveal the manner of Taddeo Gaddi, although the ascription is made with great tentativeness. To the left is an *Assumption* in a ruined state, above the windows *Christ in Judgement*, and to the right a Presepio, while the four evangelists are in the lunettes above.

The third chapel on the left has more ruined frescoes gleaming through the rococo abominations with which it is covered. Though even in a worse case than these in the last chapel, they are very suggestive of Spinelli Aretino. The picture to the left is difficult of interpretation, but has some fine standing figures of apostles. Over the windows practically nothing is visible, but to the right, on the upper part of the wall, is a fine *Battle of Angels*, the rebel angels

being cast out of heaven. In this the hand of Spinelli is very evident. Below it is a weird scene, the *Dream of a Bishop*, with a quaint hilly landscape in which every peak is crowned with a castle.

From thence the sacristy is easily reached. Part of it is the former chapel of the Sardi Campigli, and is frescoed by Taddeo di Bartolo. These frescoes have not long been uncovered, and are in a most ruinous condition. First of the series is *The Apostles visiting the Virgin*, a singular and attractive composition, with some of the apostles floating down from heaven and flying in through the window with a wonderful swirl and sense of movement. *The Death of the Virgin* follows, Christ receiving her soul in the likeness of a little child; on either side of the window is an *Annunciation*, with figures of S. John the Baptist and S. Peter beneath. *The Funeral of the Virgin* follows, and *The Assumption* is the last of this series. There are other subjects and various single figures, the whole enclosed with a border in which the Sienese shield occurs.[1] S. Francis in Ecstasy appears again above the arch, while the ceiling has groups of saints, perhaps the work of Barnaba da Modena.

The sunny inner cloister that still belongs to the monks is a spacious and pleasant place, its sixteenth-century arches upheld by peculiarly graceful columns. A few steps lead to the chapter-house, a large room with a vaulted ceiling opening out of the cloister, known as the Capitolo di S. Bonaventura, because, while general of the Franciscans, the seraphic doctor here presided over a general chapter of the Order in 1266. So tradition says, and an inscription on the outer wall repeats the story. The walls were painted in 1392 with frescoes of the Passion, by Niccolò di

[1] Taddeo's signature is on the left of the arch: Taddeo. Barth. Olim. D. Senis. Pinxit. Hoc. Opus., An. Dni. 1397.

Pietro Gerini, a follower of Giotto, who was probably taught in the school of Taddeo Gaddi. The series begins on the left wall with the *Last Supper*, *Christ washing the feet of the Disciples*, *Gethsemane*, and the *Betrayal*, all of which are in such bad condition that thay can hardly be said to exist any longer. On the front wall we see the *Flagellation*, *Christ Bearing the Cross*, the *Crucifixion*, a large and crowded scene, the *Deposition from the Cross*, and the *Entombment*, the latter an almost exact repetition of that by Taddeo Gaddi in the Accademia at Florence. These are also much injured. On the right wall the story comes to an end with the *Resurrection*, which has a noble figure of Christ stepping out of the tomb; *Christ in the Garden*, a Giottesque scene in a charmingly pretty garden; and, finally, the *Ascension*, again very Giottesque. On the entrance wall there are some badly defaced fragments, one of which, *Pentecost*, includes the figure of a Chinaman or Tartar with a pigtail. The forms are Giottesque throughout, and the hands and feet better drawn than those by Taddeo Gaddi, but there is a want of life and originality in the whole series. The nearly obliterated signature on the end of a beam should read:

NICOLAUS PETRI PICTOR DE FLORENTIA
DEPINSIT AN. D. MCCCLXXXXII. DE MAR.

From the opposite side of the cloister there is a delightful view of the tall campanile and the church with its Gothic arcades. The campanile is partly supported on two brackets springing out of the side of the church, a very unusual plan. It is elegant and slender, and, indeed, is reckoned one of the finest of its type. In returning to the church, on the right of the door leading directly into it is the tomb in which the remains of the ill-fated Gherardesca were buried

after their awful death in the Tower of Famine. When eight days had passed, it is said, the tower was broken open, and the bodies were found in attitudes of anguish. They were wrapped in mats and taken secretly to the church of the Friars Minor at S. Francesco and buried, with the irons still on their legs, in the monument which is near the steps going into the church at the door of the cloister.[1] Except for some alteration in the doorway the place is as it was then, and lately a corner of the original arch has been laid bare, so that it is easy to picture the secrecy, the furtive haste, of the hugger-mugger burial that ended the gruesome tragedy. With one's mind full of it one passes into the dim church again out of the sunshine.

From here it will be necessary to strike northward to find *S. Caterina*, finely situated in the north-east corner of the great piazza of the same name, which forms a dignified approach to the late-Gothic church. Of some size and importance, its façade is a Gothic adaptation of that of the Duomo, tier rising above tier of trefoil arches. The windows have curious borders of heads carved, like the rest of the front, in white marble. The interior has the form that was usual with the preaching Orders, a spacious nave without aisles, and a vaulted chapel on each side of the square choir. On the left is a single transept, a late addition, which formed no part of the original plan.

Before describing its treasures it will be necessary to explain them by a brief account of the history of the church. Dominican now, it was Dominican from the beginning, and takes us back in its origin to the great founder of the Order himself. One of the disciples who received the habit from his hands, in 1215,

[1] Boccaccio, The comment of, on the Comedia, with annotations by A. M. Salvini, Florence, 1353.

was Uguccione Sardi, a noble Pisan, and the task that was laid upon him was the founding of a house of the Order in his native town. Alone and without means, he returned thither. By persuasion alone he hoped to raise the necessary funds, and indeed his exhortations greatly moved the Pisans. So much so, that they gave him the little church of S. Anthony Abbot and S. Catherine of Alexandria, which stood on the site of the sacristy of the existing church, an appropriate gift, as Uguccione's own mother, Maria Sardi, had endowed it. Many gifts were brought to him by pious citizens, the Vacca family foremost in generosity, while the Gualandi gave the rich marbles for the front. In a short time the means and material for building were in his hands, and by the year 1253 a fair new church and convent had arisen. It has been usual to ascribe them to Fra Guglielmo Agnello, builder of the façade of S. Michele in Borgo, but as he was not born until 1243 the idea is untenable, and as he died before the façade was begun, some time after 1320, he cannot have designed that either. It is, however, probable that the cloisters and cells of the monks were his work. Indeed, evidence in the records of the monastery points that way.

Before the façade was built one of the greatest sons of Dominic became associated with the monastery. S. Thomas Aquinas was its reader and preacher for some time in 1274, and one of the most valued possessions of the church is the cathedra from which, says an old writer, he diffused the light of his exceeding great doctrine. He also preached the Lenten sermons in the Duomo that same year.

A century later another great Dominican saint honoured the church with her presence. During her first visit to Pisa, in 1375, S. Catherine often glided quietly into some side chapel to pray. Not unnoted, however, by the adoring eyes of a little novice, Baronto

di Ser Dato, who afterwards deposed to having seen the saint in an ecstasy both in the church of S. Cristina and likewise in that of S. Caterina, and that many times. Her companion was sometimes another Catherine, daughter of Bartolommeo Munguto, afterwards known in religion as the blessed Mary Mancini. On Easter Day the two were together in prayer in the chapel of the Annunciation in S. Caterina. In the sight of the vast congregation that crowded the church for the Easter functions, the two saints were suddenly hidden by a beautiful and brilliant cloud out of which a white dove rose and flew upwards. Another time, Baronto tells us that when she was crossing the piazza in front of the church a great crowd of rich and poor, of young and old, thronged closely round her. The press was so great that the half-grown lad could not see his worshipped lady, and bethought him to clamber on to the wall of an old tomb hard by. Just as he was about to do so Catherine spiritually divined his purpose, though she could not see him, and calling out in a loud voice, she begged the bystanders to prevent the young religious from climbing the wall, as it was unsafe. On examination this proved to be the case, and the whole city was soon talking of the marvel. Hallowed as it was by the presence of these great children of the Order, the sons of Dominic have never left the church except for a short time after 1785, when they were forcibly expelled, the cloisters demolished, and the seminary built in their stead.

After the cathedra of S. Thomas, one of the most interesting possessions of the church is Traini's picture of the *Glorification of S. Thomas Aquinas*, which will be found over the third altar on the left. Both artistically and historically this is a very important picture. Traini was a Pisan, and, although Vasari persistently calls him the pupil of Orcagna, he was really a follower of Simone

Martini or the Lorenzetti. In this, his masterpiece, he shows, as in all his work, a curious mixture of Florentine and Sienese influences, the latter predominating. Originally a gabled altarpiece, it was enlarged to make it rectangular when the altars were rebuilt in the Renaissance style. The composition is symmetrical, the execution very delicate and finished, if rather flat. A heroic figure of S. Thomas is seated on a round sphere representing the world, his head relieved against the band of gold which separates heaven and earth. The curve of the sphere is repeated above in the line formed by the four Evangelists, S. Paul, and Moses. On either side of the saint stand Aristotle and Plato, holding their open books towards him as if to inspire him with their philosophy. Below, on a smaller scale, are two groups of saints and doctors of the church. The figure in the foreground to the right, bearing a scroll inscribed *Urbanus Sex Pisanum*, is a later addition. Beneath S. Thomas' feet lies Averroes, the great Spanish Moslem Aristotelian. He is prone, vanquished by a conquering ray from the writings of the saint that strikes his book, and from which shrinks with averted face. At the top of the picture Christ, with a *mandorla* glory, appears floating in the starry firmament, his figure recalling the Christ of the *Last Judgement* in the Campo Santo. Golden rays go forth from his mouth. Some strike the heads of S. Paul and Moses and the Evangelists, while three go straight into that of S. Thomas. Other rays are sent down upon the saint from the books of the six figures above, which are held out eagerly towards him.[1] Having thus received the light

[1] The open books of the six figures above are inscribed as follows :—

Moses. *Non adorabis deos alienos,*
Honora Patrem et Matrem,
Non Occides. *Non furtus faciet.*
—Deut. v. 7, 11, 16, 17, 19.

he gives it forth again. His books lie on his lap,[1] and a circle of rays goes from them into the two groups of saints and doctors.[2]

This picture is probably the first representation of the subject, and its arrangement was afterwards copied by Benozzo Gozzoli and Filippino Lippi. It was probably painted about 1340, and Vasari says that the face of S. Thomas is a portrait taken from life. "I say from life, because the monks of the convent caused a figure of the saint to be brought from the abbey of Fossa-nuova, where S. Thomas had died."

In the chapel to the right of the high altar there is a fine sculptured *Annunciation* by Nino Pisano, very delicately finished, and a *Madonna with SS. Peter and*

S. John. (*in* (*p*)*rincipi*(*o*) *erat V*(*er*)*bum et V*(*er*)*bum er*(*at*) *apud Deum* (*et*) *Deus erat Verbum.*
—S. John i. 1.

S. Mark. *Initi*(*um*) *Evan*(*gelii*) *Jesu Chri*(*sti*).
—S. Mark i. 1.

S. Paul. *Paulus Servus Jesu Chri*(*sti*) *vocatus apostotus segre*(*ga*)*tus.*—Romans i. 1.

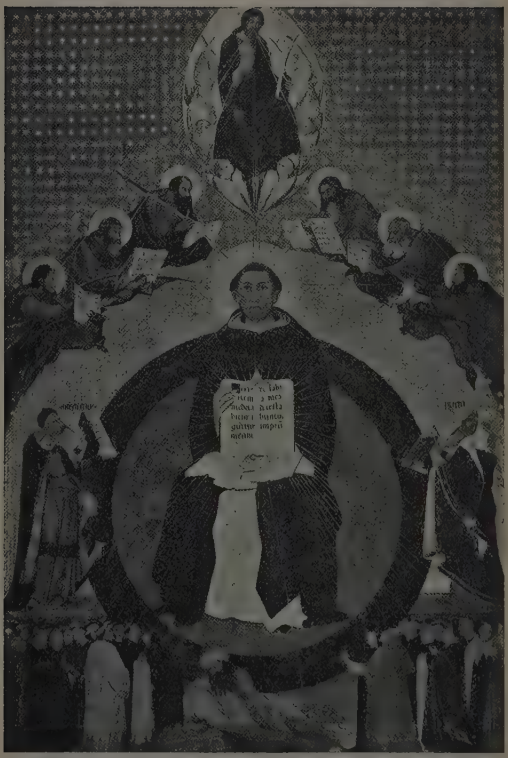
S. Matthew. *Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David filii Abraam, Abraam genuit Isa*(*ac*).
—S. Matthew i. 1 and 2, init.

S Luke. *Fuit in diebus Herodis regis judææ Sacerdos quidam nomine Zaca*(*rias*).
—S. Luke i. 5, init.

One of the other books reads, *Veteris ac nove legis continentiam diligenti . . . . agine considerantibus nobis.*

[1] The upright book begins, *Veritatem meditabitur in quttur meum et labia mea detestabuntur impium.*
—Proverb viii. 7. Vulgate.
"In my mouth shall be meditation of the truth and my lips shall bear witness against the impious man."

[2] The left ray is inscribed, *Hic advenit æternam viam disciplinæ*, "This man hath made discovery of the eternal way of discipline." That to the right has, *Doctor Gentium in fide et veritate*, "The teacher of the people in faith and truth."
Greek characters are visible on Plato's book, but no words can be deciphered.



THE GLORIFICATION OF S. THOMAS AQUINAS, BY FRANCESCO TRAINI, IN THE CHURCH OF S. CATERINA

Paul by Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli. The cartoon is probably by Fra Bartolommeo, but the painting is by Albertinelli, except, perhaps, the Child, which may be by the hand of the former. On the right of the entrance is the tomb of Gherardo di Bartolommeo di Simone di Campagno, a work of the school of Nino Pisano, and on the left the beautiful monument of Simone Salterelli, Archbishop of Pisa (1342), by Nino himself. The recumbent figure and the angels are beautiful.

S. Anna, which lies a little west of S. Caterina, in a street of the same name, was built, in 1407, by Benedictine nuns, after the destruction of their house in the outskirts during the siege of 1405. Almost entirely rebuilt in 1640, it was adorned with horrible stucco ornaments a hundred years later by the brothers Melani. No longer the guardian of the two Ghirlandaio pictures, which have lately been removed to the Museo Civico, S. Anna is chiefly interesting because of its connection with Shelley. It will be remembered that *Epipsychidion* is dedicated to Emilia Viviani, "now imprisoned in the convent of S. Anne in Pisa," and the passionate interest which she and her misfortunes aroused in the poet's heart was one of the most vivid influences of his life in Pisa. The Contessina Emilia Viviani had been shut up in the convent of S. Anna by her father until it pleased him to find a husband for her. She had spent four weary and monotonous years in what was virtually a prison when Shelley heard her story. His generous spirit was roused at once by the hint of tyranny, he insisted on visiting the captive and was immediately "struck by her amazing beauty, by the highly cultivated grace of her mind, and by the misery which she suffered in being debarred from all sympathy." He took Mary to see her, and after that they went constantly,

brightening her captivity with gifts of books and flowers and by frequent letters. The outcome of the friendship was the publication of *Epipsychidion*, a poem in which Shelley expresses his theory of love, and in which he addresses Emilia Viviani as:

> "Seraph of Heaven, too gentle to be human
> Veiling beneath that radiant form of woman
> All that is insupportable in thee
> Of light, and love, and immortality,"

suggesting that she and Mary, who shall henceforth, like sun and moon, rule the world of love within him, should fly with him to a distant Ægean island,

> "an isle under Ionian skies,
> Beautiful as a wreck of Paradise."

But the mood in which he wrote was short-lived. In spite of its great beauty the poem was received with absolute silence by the critics, and not long afterwards Shelley spoke of it to Leigh Hunt as "a portion of myself that is already dead"; and in a letter of June, 1822, he says: "The *Epipsychidion* I cannot look at; the person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of Juno; and poor Ixion starts from the Centaur that was the offspring of his own embrace. If you are curious, however, to hear what I have been, it will tell you something thereof. It is an idealised history of my life and feelings. I think one is always in love with something or another; the error, and I confess it is not easy for spirits cased in flesh and blood to avoid it consists in seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is, perhaps, eternal."

The fate of Emilia Viviani was not a happy one. She was subsequently married to an uncongenial husband of her father's choice, and after pining in his society in the marshy solitudes of the Maremma for six years, she left him only to die of consumption in a dilapidated old palace in Florence.

A few yards north of S. Anna is *S. Torpè*, close to the Porta Lucchese and a trifle to the east of the so-called baths of Nero. It is said to stand on the site of the Pretorian palace where S. Torpetus, or Torpè, patron of the city until S. Ranieri took his place, was beheaded. He was a noble Roman serving in Nero's guards when, according to the legend, he was converted by the Apostle Paul. Summoned to Pisa by his military duties, he was discovered to be a Christian, and was taken before the Emperor, who commanded him to worship the statue of Diana in a magnificent temple which he had recently dedicated to that goddess. Torpetus steadfastly refused, and prayed, instead, that the great house of idols might be destroyed. Hardly had the words left his lips than with a mighty rending the temple collapsed, and the statue of the goddess was broken into innumerable pieces. When Nero heard of this portentous event his wrath was terrible, and by his orders Torpetus was haled before the tormentors, and after suffering cruel tortures was beheaded. His head was preserved as a most precious relic and worked many miracles, once saving Pisa from a terrible drought. Borne in solemn state round the city by the clergy, its intercession caused a great cloud to burst, and the torrents of rain not only filled the dry bed of the Arno but caused it to overflow its banks, and carried away part of the procession and the precious head itself. Great was the terror and dismay; but while the people wept and prayed two angels appeared, dived under the water, and bringing up the head placed it in the arms of the astonished archbishop.

SS. Ranieri and Leonardo, better known as S. Ranierino, in Via Torretti, near the Leaning Tower, is but a few paces away. A very plain and humble-looking church, in spite of its Michelangelesque door-

way, it seems rather inadequate for the shrine dedicated to the patron and protector of the city. The one and only object of interest it possesses is the signed crucifix by Giunta Pisano over the altar on the left, in which the languid figure of Christ shows a certain realism of modelling that marks Giunta's departure from Byzantine methods.

Thence we must make our way by Via Arcivescovado and Via Faggiola to *S. Eufrasia*, in Via S. Sisto, which has but little left of the original fabric, built, it is said, in 1124, by Cardinal Crisogono Malchidome. The patronage was afterwards held by the Griffi and the Sancasciani families, and the monastery was enlarged by pious donations. The Vigna family gave largely, as the following inscription in the interior testifies:—*Rinnovo Domenico d'Ercole del Vigna A.S.* In 1691 it became the property of the Order of S. Stefano, and remained so until 1729, when given by Cosimo III. to the Carmelites. A further transition took place in 1810, when the Confraternity of the Sacred Stigmata of S. Francis came into possession of the Church, which they have retained ever since.

Close by is *S. Sisto*, in Via della Carità. All architectural distinction has long since gone from its façade, but the interior possesses unusually good columns of granite and of marble, ravished from some antique temple on a distant shore. If these and the other stolen columns of the Pisan churches could speak, and speaking tell us whence they came, what temple they upheld, what was the cult of the people who flitted past them to the sanctuary, how thrilling would the tale be. They would tell us forgotten stories of far-off things, of the ancient glories of Carthage and the mysterious African deserts, of the hellenised shores of Sicily, of volcanic islands where the Roman might was

upheld in defiance of the upheavals of nature. Eastern races and eastern cults would be within their ken, while the fair viking of the north must have wandered beneath their shadow in that restless and pathetic search of his for Asgaard, the city of the gods. After long centuries of sunny peace they would remember the coming of the Pisan buccaneers in their great galleys, the sweep of long oars, and the cry of the sweating slaves who pulled them. Then fighting and slaughter, lust and red ruin. In the midst of it all the patriotic Pisan never forgot to save any object that could minister to the glory of his homeland, the beauty of his churches. Conspicuous among the booty that loaded the homing galleys till they rode perilously deep in the water were columns of porphyry and of marble, fluted columns, Greek or Roman columns. Always columns. Hardly a church in Pisa but shared the stolen treasure. Fashions in architecture have come and gone, and every feature of a church has changed, every beauty has been blotted out, and yet the old columns stand there strong and unchanged, giving an ineradicable touch of romance to it.

Except for her columns, and the ancient capitals that came with them, S. Sisto makes but a poor artistic show. The wall beside the entrance has two rather good early Pisan reliefs that once formed part of the pulpit, and the holy-water stoups are worth a glance. But she has other glories. Never was church more closely bound up with the history of a people than this. The 6th of August, the feast-day of S. Sixtus (or Sisto, as the Italians call him) had always proved auspicious to the Pisan fortunes. A long roll of victories belongs to it. On August 6, 1006, the first great triumph over the Saracens had been gained in Calabria, and a second on August 6, 1063, at Palermo. On August 6, 1072, the Genoese were defeated utterly;

in 1089, the Moors in Africa. Again, in 1114, the successful and glorious expedition against the Balearic Isles put to sea on August 6, and the Genoese were once more defeated that same day at Porto Venere, in 1119. It was no wonder that in the face of such repeated triumphs the citizens resolved to build a church in honour of the saint who had so often proved himself their friend. It was still hidden in the womb of time that another 6th of August was to come that should smirch all the glories of the preceding ones, and leave Pisa crouching at the feet of Genoa. With no saddening fore-knowledge of the fatal battle of Meloria, they set to work on this church of S. Sisto as early as 1070, and after each successive victory enlarged or enriched it with a share of the booty. At one time it must have possessed considerable architectural splendour and great wealth. From the beginning it was in every sense the people's church. Built by the will of the people, with the hard-won spoils taken by the people, the patronage was vested in the hands of their representatives, who hold it still; and, furthermore, the deliberations of the great Council of the Republic were held for many years within its walls.

Among the dead buried there was a certain professor of the Pisan University, Giovanni Battista Buonaparte, who died in 1774, and whose chief title to remembrance is that he came of the same family that gave the great Napoleon to the world.

Two steps lead us into the Piazza de' Cavalieri, at the far end of which is the splendid knightly church of *S. Stefano de' Cavalieri.* It stands between the Palazzo Conventuale and Via del Monte, with a mellow richly-coloured marble façade and fine columns that contribute greatly to the picturesqueness of the piazza. In the year 1561, Cosimo I. founded the Order of S. Stefano, not, as is often supposed, from a mere

freakish desire of restoring the mediæval Orders of knighthood, but for a good and statesmanlike reason. The shores of Tuscany lay at the mercy of the Moorish and Ottoman pirates who infested the Mediterranean, and Cosimo could not afford to equip and maintain the galleys that were necessary to keep them at bay. An appeal to the King of Spain had resulted in his refusal to co-operate in the enterprise; and then it was that the wise Grand Duke determined upon the foundation of an Order whose object was to defend the Mediterranean from pirates, an Order that should be both military and ecclesiastical, and thus command the support both of the nobles and of the Church. The Order was placed under the Benedictine rule, Cosimo and his successors were appointed grand masters, and the statutes were modelled on those of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem. S. Stephen, pope and martyr, was chosen as the patron, out of gratitude for the victories of Montemurlo and of Marcia, both of which had been won upon his feast-day. The Pisans were greatly delighted that Cosimo fixed its headquarters in their city, after having first chosen Porto Ferraio in Elba for the purpose, and loudly applauded him for thus bringing prosperity to them. Later on, it may be hinted, their ardour cooled. The aristocratic institution was unsympathetic to their republican sympathies, and they discovered that by harrying the Turks the knights drove away their eastern trade.[1]

A seventeenth-century Englishman gives this account of the Order and its church a hundred years after its

[1] The Order remained in existence until 1809, when it was dissolved by the French. It was revived after they evacuated the city, but finally came to an end in 1859. Interesting particulars concerning it can be gleaned from "In Tuscany," by Montgomery Carmichael, which, among other things, gives a list of Englishmen who have been knights of S. Stefano.

institution: "This is the only order of Knighthood that I perceived in the State of Florence; and it's very common. They wear a *Red Cross of Satin* upon their Cloaks, and profess to fight against the *Turks*. For this purpose they have a good House (The Palazzo Conventuale) and Maintenance. Their church is beautified without with a handsome *Faciata* of *White Marble*, and within with *Turkish Ensigns* and divers Lanterns of *Capitanesse Gallies*. In this house the Knights live in common, and are well maintained. In their *Treasury* they show you a great *Buckler* all of *Pearl* and *Diamond*, won in the battle against the *Turks*. Indeed Bucklers of *Diamonds* do but show our Enemies where we are, and what they may hope for by killing us. They have in their *Cancelleria* a Catalogue of those Knights who have done notable service against the Turks; which serves for a powerful exhortation to their successors, to do, and die bravely. In fine, these *Knights* may marry if they will, and live in their own particular houses: but many of them choose Celibate, as more convenient for brave soldiers: wives and children being the true *impedimenta exercitus*." [1]

Meantime, Cosimo was bent on housing his knights magnificently. The ancient palaces in the Piazza degl'Anziani were adapted for their use by the versatile Giorgio Vasari, and Cosimo entrusted him with the commission of raising a church fit for the august Order. This he did in 1565, placing it on the site of the earlier church of S. Sebastiano delle fabbriche maggiori. He left it incomplete, however, and it was not finished until 1594-5, the façade being designed by Bernardo Buontalenti. In 1607 the ceiling was added, and in 1680 the side aisles, which were not included in Vasari's plan.

Though effective, the façade is a little florid. The

[1] "The Voyage of Italy," Richard Lassels, gent., 1670.

interior, with its wide and spacious nave, is well proportioned and impressive, though more suitable for a

TROPHY OF TURKISH STANDARDS AND A GALLEY-POOP, CHURCH OF S. STEFANO

ballroom or a hall of justice than for a church. Most of the architectural details are good, but the ornate painted and gilded ceiling is the most important feature. The walls are effectively decorated with trophies of Turkish

and Arabian banners, taken in fight by the knights, and with the gilded lanterns and richly-carved and coloured poops and ornaments of their great galleys. The genial President de Brosses, wandering in the church in 1714, remarks caustically: "The Church of the Knights of S. Stephen, which is the Grand-duke's order, is all hung with Standards taken from the Turks; these make a gallant show, but I wonder whether the Turks have not also got some of the flags belonging to the Knights, in their mosques." One sympathises with the comment, in the presence of such obvious self-glorification as this.

The six ceiling-paintings add to the rich effect of the interior, without having any great value of their own, though painted by the better masters of the late Tuscan school. Beginning with the high altar, we have, first, the *Installation of Cosimo I. as Grand Master of the Order*, by Cristoforo Allori, which contains numerous portraits; second, the *Return from the Battle of Lepanto*, by Cigolo; third, *Maria de Medici leaving Leghorn for France*, to be married to Henry IV., by Allori, the rich galley *Capitano di S. Stefano*, in which she sailed, the most prominent object; fourth is the *Capture of four Turkish Ships* in 1607, by Jacopo da Empoli; fifth, the *Conquest of Nicopolis* in 1605, by Ligozzi; sixth, with the *Taking of Bona*, in Africa, also by Ligozzi, the series is brought to an end. The high altar is gorgeous with richly-coloured marbles, porphyry, jasper and gold, but heavy and overloaded, and the ashes of the patron saint are contained in a marble urn forming part of it. In a niche at the back there is a bust of *S. Lussorio*, or *Rossore*, in gilded bronze. Opinions have differed greatly as to its authorship, but it seems now to be established as the work of Donatello. Every part of it is characteristic of him, the shape of the head particularly, high and broad over

the ears, which resembles that of his S. John in the Louvre.

At the first altar on the left is a *Nativity*, by Bronzino, dated 1564, with masses of muscular half-nude saints tossing about in the air over the Christ Child and the Madonna. The scene takes place in a huge cave. As a whole it shows great decadence, but some of the faces are beautiful, especially that of the woman in blue on the extreme right. Much of the work suggests the hands of pupils, for in places the type is not quite that of Bronzino, nor are the forms or the colouring his. Vasari had a great love for this picture, which, he said, was painted "with so much art, diligence, drawing, invention, and beauty of colouring, that it could not be excelled." The first altar on the right has a *Stoning of S. Stephen*, by Vasari himself, which is dry in treatment and heavy in colour. Christ and the Almighty look down from heaven as if at a race or spectacle. Besides this there is a series of monochrome paintings on the walls by Vasari and others, representing the life of the patron saint in a cold and academic manner.

S. Frediano stands where Via S. Frediano expands into a little piazza. Closely akin in architecture to S. Pierino, it must belong more or less to the same period. There are seven instead of five arches in the lower storey of the façade, but the general design is the same, and the sunk lozenge-shaped ornaments, the window, the gable, are identical. On the whole this is the finer façade of the two, with better finished workmanship and greater elaboration. The architrave of the main door, here as there, is composed of a classic frieze, but has the additional charm of bearing the traces of yet another age. One of its surfaces is covered with a curious pattern of runic-looking knots, the token possibly of the Comacine guilds. The

usual basilica form, with antique columns and capitals fitted to them at random, is here debased by ugly stucco additions of 1675. The first chapel to the left has a Byzantine crucifix of the usual type, with small scenes from the Passion surrounding the margin.

This is one of the many churches locally dedicated to S. Frediano, otherwise known as S. Finnian of Moville. He was the son of an Irish king, born at the close of the fifth century. After working many miracles in Ireland, he made a pilgrimage to certain shrines in Lucca, and became its bishop. At the close of a long career of good works and miracles, he was buried in the splendid basilica dedicated to him in Lucca, and he belongs to Lucca rather than to Pisa. All that can be claimed for the latter city are the years that he spent as an anchorite on the Pisan mountains. He loved the solitary life, and when he had finished his devotions at the graves of the martyrs in S. Paolino at Lucca, he drifted to the neighbouring hills, already hallowed by the memory of the many hermits who had dwelt there since the first beginnings of Christianity. There he sat him down in some rocky cavern, and for a space enjoyed the peace he sighed for. But the fame of his holiness and great learning reached the city of Lucca, and he was reluctantly persuaded to leave his cell and mount its episcopal throne.

The Buzzacherini-Sigismondi, a noble Pisan family, is credited with the foundation of S. Frediano. The date is variously stated as 1007 and 1061, and it was originally intended as a hospice for poor pilgrims. The existing fabric probably belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century, so there must have been some kind of reconstruction. The founder's family remained its patrons until Cosimo I. gave it to the knights of S. Stefano. In 1595, it was transferred by Ferdinand I. to the Barnabite fathers, who opened

schools, and did good work in the cause of education.

S. Salvadore, or *La Madonna de' Galletti*, is on the Lung' Arno Regio, between Via S. Frediano and Via della Sapienza, very near to the ancient Porta Aurea. It was originally known as S. Salvadore, but in 1640 the dedication was changed. During the demolition of a palace belonging to the Galletti family a picture of a *Madonna and Child*, by a good early master, was found beneath a staircase, and was deposited in the church which has ever since been known as the Madonna de' Galletti. Above the main door is the inscription believed to have been taken from the Porta Aurea.[1]

CIVIBUS EGREGIIS HEC AVREA PORTA VOCATUR
IN QUA SIC DICTAT NOBILITATIS HONOR
HANC URBEM DECUS IMPERII GENERALE PUTETIS
QUE FFRA PRAVORUM COLLA FERIRE SOLET.
MAJORIS BALEE RABIES ERAT IMPROBA MULTUM
ILLA QUID HEC POSSET VICTAQUE SENSIT EBUS.
AN MILLENIS DECEM CENTUM CUM QUINQ. PERACTIS
EX QUO CONCEPIT VIRGO MARIA DEUM.
PISANUS POPULUS VICTOR PROSTRAVIT UTRUMQUE,
HISQUE FACIT STRAGES INGEMINATA FIDEM
DILIGITE JUSTITIAM, QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM.

S. Niccolò lies between Via S. Maria and the Piazza S. Niccolò, a little further west. Its ruined façade, with some beautiful remains of black and white marble work, and the famous campanile are in the former street. Never did the Pisan-Romanesque produce anything more perfect than this campanile, which is a landmark all over Pisa. Its reticence and simplicity are very attractive to the eye, wearied by the lavishness of so many productions of the style. Instead of the multitudinous arcades of the Leaning Tower it has one simple circle, every line of which has its value. The octagonal panelled tower is built into the left side of the church. Above the panelling is the ring of arches,

and above that a pyramidal roof. The interior has a finely-conceived winding staircase, thus described by Vasari: "Its form within," he says, "is circular, with a spiral staircase ascending to the summit; within the stairs a free space is left, in the manner of a well, whilst on every fourth stair are placed columns, supporting arches which follow the spiral line. The roof of the staircase being supported on these arches the ascent is of such sort that the spectator at the foot sees all who go up; those who are ascending see those below; while he who stands in the midway can see both those above and those below. This remarkable invention was afterwards applied . . . . . by Bramante in Rome to the Belvedere of Pope Julius II., and by Antonio di San Gallo in Orvieto for Pope Clement VII." Vasari attributes the campanile to Niccolò Pisano, and has been followed by every authority until quite lately a doubt has been thrown upon the ascription. The campanile bears every trace of a monastic origin, and is extremely like those of the Badia a Settimo and the Badia of Florence. Both of these were built by the Benedictines, and point to a similar origin for S. Niccolò. This campanile, like several others in Pisa

CAMPANILE OF S. NICCOLÒ

besides the official one, is a leaning tower, and has a decided list towards the north. The interior is rich in marbles, but not interesting. Once more, in considering the history of S. Niccolò, we are taken back to Roman days, when a temple to Ceres stood on its site. How long the smoke of its sacrifices ascended is unknown. But about the year 1000, a Christian church and monastery were founded on the spot by Hugh, the great Marquess of Tuscany, for the convenience of the monks of S. Michele della Verruca, one of the seven Benedictine abbeys that he built as an expiation of his sins after a horrible vision he had near Florence. The story is told by Villani, who, speaking of the Marquess Hugh, says: "It came to pass as it pleased God that as he rode out to the chace in the country of Buonsollazo, he strayed away from his men in the forest and as it seemed to him came to a smithy where iron was wont to be wrought. Finding there black and deformed men who instead of iron seemed to be tormenting men with fire and with hammers, he asked what this might mean. They said unto him that these were lost souls, and that the soul of the Marquess Hugh was condemned to similar pains by reason of his worldly life unless he should swiftly turn to repentance. Then he with great fear commended him to the Virgin Mary, and when the vision left him he remained with such compunction in his spirit that on his return to Florence he sold his whole patrimony in Germany, and commanded that seven abbeys should be built. The first was the Badia of Florence in honour of the Lady Mary; the second that of Buonsollazo where he beheld the vision; the third he caused to be erected at Arezzo; the fourth at Poggibonsi; the fifth at Verruca di Pisa; the sixth at Citta di Castello; and the last was the abbey of Settimo. All these abbeys he endowed richly and

ever after with his wife led a holy life and had no children; he died in the city of Florence on the day of S. Thomas in the year of Christ 1006, and was buried with great honour in the Badia at Florence."[1] Tronci says that, besides the Badia of S. Michele di Verruca outside Pisa, "this most pious Marquess founded also the church of S. Niccolò," for the use of the monks of S. Michele fuori.[2] The Augustinians came into possession of it in 1292, in exchange for one of the four monasteries they had in the diocese. The church was very small at that time, and has been several times enlarged and restored, notably in 1572.

S. Vito is at the extreme west of the city, next door to the Medicean *cales*, or arsenal. The student of history will look in vain for the ancient church of S. Vito, where S. Ranieri spent his last years, and where he died. It was a magnificent pile, built in the manner of S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, just across the river, and dating back to 1078. Neither its associations, however, nor the splendour of its architecture were sufficient to protect it against the eighteenth-century hatred of the "Gothick" in architecture. It was ruthlessly torn down in 1787, and its present miserably prosaic successor run up over part of the site. The walls were hastily patched together, rich marbles, columns, and capitals being incorporated as mere building materials, and a poor fresco of the period is all that recalls the connection of the church with S. Ranieri.

Standing, as we do, on the Lung' Arno, with a wide sweep of the river before us, the scene recalls a custom that until lately formed an important part of the celebration of S. Ranieri's festival. Every three years the whole city was brilliantly illuminated. "The devotion

[1] *Chronache Fiorentini*, Giovanni Villani, Book iv. 2.
[2] *Annali Pisani*, Tronci, l. 9.

S. URSULA SAVING THE CITY OF PISA FROM A FLOOD, BY BRUNO DI GIOVANNI, MUSEO CIVICO

of the people for S. Ranieri, patron and protector of the city, is such," says a Milanese writer about the beginning of the nineteenth century, "that even the most wretched willingly go without bread that day, enduring the pangs of hunger in order to be able to light at least a poor dozen of tapers in their windows. There is no corner, no remote alley, where the windows are not festooned with lights."

The busy Marianna Stark, who was in Pisa during the last decade of the eighteenth century, gives her account of it: "There is likewise a singular and most beautiful illumination here in honour of S. Ranieri. On this night (June 16) the whole Lung'Arno appears like one immense crescent of magnificent and regularly built palaces, studded over with innumerable quantities of diamonds, some in the Tuscan, others in the Gothic, and others in the grotesque, or Chinese style of architecture. . . . Add to this the three bridges with temples, palaces, and arabesques, all blazing with jewels, and such is the scene which Pisa presents to the view at this general illumination. No wonder, then, that Ariosto is said to have borrowed images from so splendid and so singular an exhibition, which can only be compared to an enchanted city." [1]

The Milanese writer already quoted, on entering the city by the Porta Nuova at twenty-four o'clock, after an excursion to the Cascine, was "astonished at the marvellous effect of this illumination. Suddenly I saw the magnificent Duomo, Baptistery, Campo Santo and Leaning Tower, rise like magic from the immense Piazza. . . . I stopped in ecstasy to admire the splendid and indescribable spectacle and then with slow steps" he wandered all over the city, noting the brilliant spectacle in every corner. Finally, he says

[1] "Letters from Italy, 1792-1798," Mariana Starke, 1800, London, i. 239

that "the Gondolas of the Court, all resplendent with golden and velvet hangings, preceded by two large barges with triumphal arches, and an infinite number of boats from Leghorn and Florence, the greater part of them gaily decked with festoons, garlands and banners, and filled by festive crowds partaking of joyous suppers to the sound of music and singing, glide up and down the Arno, all gaily illuminated, adding to the vivacity of the festival."

The Luminaria, as this gay scene was called, lingered on after all the other specifically Pisan customs, but it, too, has died out of late.

CHAPTER X

Pictures and Sculpture in the Museo Civico, the Archiepiscopal Seminary, the University, the University Library, the Natural History Museum and Botanical Gardens, the Archivio di Stato, the Opera del Duomo, the Università dei Cappellani, the Archivio Arcivescovile.

THE *MUSEO CIVICO*, a well-arranged museum with an excellent catalogue, is housed in the outer cloister of S. Francesco. The ambulatory is filled with fragments of Pisan sculpture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Immediately to the left of the entrance is the *Sala del Pulpito*, where the remains of the great pulpit that Giovanni Pisano made for the

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SEAL OF THE COMMUNE, MUSEO CIVICO

Duomo between 1302 and 1311, are collected. Injured by the great fire of 1595, it was taken to pieces and scattered. Some idea of its general appearance can be gained from the small conjectural restoration of it in the same room. From this we see that its body was surrounded by nine panels and that it was supported by seven columns, four of which were composed of sculptured groups of figures.

Turning to the remaining portions, we find the central support, a graceful pillar encircled by the three Christian Graces, erect and lithe women's figures, with small reliefs of the Arts and Philosophy below. One of the other columns represents the City of Pisa as a crowned woman with two sucklings at her breast. Justice, Strength, Temperance, and Prudence gather round her. The third column is formed by an allegorical figure of Imperial Government, with the four Evangelists at its feet. Two single figures of Hercules and S. Michael seem to have been parts of another, and represent the greatest pagan and the greatest Christian warriors.

Besides these are the seven panels, which, with the two in the Duomo, surrounded the upper part of the pulpit. So beautiful are these, with such a combination of the fiercest dramatic passion and romantic loveliness, that words fail to describe them. The development from Niccolô's stern conceptions of the same scenes is marvellous. In the *Nativity* here, Madonna is no queenly Roman, but a tender young mother timidly lifting the coverlet to gaze at her babe. The nurse dips her hand into the water to test its temperature before bathing the Child, an action that betrays a new appreciation and study of nature. The landscape, too, with the shepherds and their flocks, is romantic to a wonderful degree, considering the simplicity of the means by which the impression is

conveyed. The group formed by the Madonna and Child and the kneeling king in the *Adoration of the Magi*, expresses the same union of grace, realism, and passion. The whole being of the king is thrilled by passionate reverence as he kisses the foot that the merry Babe thrusts out playfully towards him.

A panel representing the *Presentation in the Temple* and the *Flight into Egypt* follows, and then the *Massacre of the Innocents*. Herod sits above, his simple gesture the last word of kingliness. Below him is the seething crowd of soldiers wresting the babes from women who are turned to furies by outraged mother-love. Others clasp dead babies frantically to their bosom, or gaze with half-crazy, incredulous amazement at the impossible, which has become possible. The beauty, the tragedy, and the fury of all this, in spite of an overcrowded composition, is one of the miracles of art; most of all in its power of conveying these sensations to the spectator. *The Betrayal, Condemnation, and Scourging of Christ* follows. It is divided in interest, but the figure of Christ, blindfolded and bound, is the image of tragedy personified. The climax of passion reached in the *Massacre of the Innocents* is almost equalled by the *Crucifixion*, with the writhing thief, the brutal executioners, the anguished, fainting virgin. Then comes a vision of the *Elect*, that half of the *Last Judgement*, whose complementary panel with the *Damned* is in the Duomo. But how vividly the scene is visualised. What love and worship is in Our Lady's face, as with joined hands she turns to her divine Son who does all things well. What startling flash of a greater day lights up the faces of the newly risen.

So vividly did Giovanni express the essential significance of action, that he created types which were almost imperishable and became the common heritage

of Italian artists for many a generation. They were the types of common life. His was not the temperament to enter into the mysteries of religion; he used his faculty of creation for the pure æsthetic joy of it.

The staircase, hung with portraits of the grand dukes, leads up to the *Sala degl' Arazzi*. It contains good Flemish and Florentine tapestries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, interesting choir-books, and the gay banners that were carried by the various squadrons in the Giuoco del Ponte. Here are the white folds of the Mattacino squadron, a mountebank in the centre driving a dragon and a lion. The red and white of S. Michele is here too, with its flaming star, the blue and yellow of S. Marco, and the blue and white of S. Maria. The squadron of the Dolphin has a blue banner with the device of a yellow dolphin. S. Martino is red, white, and black, and the boar of S. Antonio ramps upon a red field. S. Michele bears the balance and the sword, and all the others have their appropriate devices. Even here, with no air to stir their ample folds, how gay they look. When they were borne through the city all fluttering and bellying, the streets must have looked like flower-gardens.

Sala I. has early Pisan illuminations and needlework; among the former is an interesting fourteenth-century genealogical tree of Christ, painted on parchment. No. 4 is a fragment of the great girdle with which the Duomo was decked on festal days. On a crimson damask ground it has five plaques of silver-gilt, twelve small Pisan crosses, four enamelled disks, and it contains eighty-four precious stones. The plaques represent S. John the Evangelist, SS. Peter and Paul, Christ in the Garden, S. Luke, and the Decollation of S. John the Baptist. On the largest of the disks is a figure of a saint, perhaps S. Augustine.

The disappearance and the destruction of this in-

teresting girdle is wrapped in obscurity. All we know for certain is that it was the habit of the Commune to pawn it when in straits for money; and it is possible that an occasion came when it was not redeemed, and that, consequently, it was broken up and sold. But one of the mediæval chroniclers declares that Pietro Gambacorti and his family were the culprits. "They broke faith and took it," he writes, "those thievish traitors the Gambacorti, whom we may compare unto Gano. But by a miracle of God all who put their hands to the evil work ended badly, many dying violent deaths. They confessed how they destroyed it, and then they were put to the torture of the strappado in the sacristy of the Duomo, because they would not give back the girdle, the chalices, the silver, and other rich and noble things belonging to the church. . . . And when they broke up the girdle, tearing it all to pieces, the little nails alone were worth more than 300 florins, and the buckle and its tongue were each 2 feet 8 inches in length. The said traitors made among themselves a computation of the girdle, and said it was worth more than 10,000 florins; but it was really worth much more. And so it went ill with those hounds, enemies of God and of men. If they could work such treachery and betrayal against the things of God, what would they not have found in their hearts to do against men."[1]

Nos. 5-7 is the mass-purse of Pope Gelasius II., who consecrated the Duomo, embroidered in silk and gold, with the representation of a pope in full pontificals. No. 8 is an altar-frontal of 1325, worked with a very lovely Byzantine coronation of the Virgin; No. 14, the pluvial of Pope Gelasius, a wonderful piece of embroidery on crimson damask.

[1] MS. *Storie di Pisa*, Anon., Magliabech, class xxv., codex 366.

The following rooms contain pictures of the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries:—*Sala II.* has a number of crucifixes of the Byzantine and of the Pisan schools of the thirteenth century. No. 17 is by Giunta Pisano himself, and only serves to show that instead of giving a new impulse to these gloomy works, he left them more decadent than before. It is, however, so changed by ill-treatment and neglect, and by subsequent ignorant restoration, that very little of the original work remains, and Giunta is better judged from the crucifix that formerly belonged to the convent of S. Anna, and now preserved in the church of S. Ranieri. No. 9, a *Crucifixion* belonging to the Pisan school of the fourteenth century, is said to have belonged to Pietro Gambacorti, and the nearly obliterated kneeling figure at the foot of the cross is supposed to be his portrait. The arms of the family appear on a shield, the walls of Pisa are represented in the background, and over them appear the Duomo, the Leaning Tower, the Torre Guelfa, etc.

Sala III. has some more early Pisan works, including two *Madonnas* by Deodato Orlandi, a pupil of Berlinghieri, with whom the Pisan Guild of Painters surely reached the lowest possible ebb. One of them, No. 4, is signed: A.D. MCCCI DEODATUS ORLANDI ME PINXIT. Having thus followed the retrogression of this school to its dregs, it is an enlivening contrast to turn to some exquisite works by one of the greatest painters of the Sienese school, Nos. 16 to 19 and 21 to 23—namely, *seven panels* by Simone Martini, which formed the predella of the S. Caterina polyptych, of which the larger portions are in the Seminario Arcivescovile. Each of them contain two half-figures of saints: S. Stephen and S. Apollonia, S. Gregory the Great with S. Luke, S. Ursula with S. Laurence, S. Agnes and S. Ambrose, S. Thomas Aquinas and S. Augustine, S.

Nicholas and S. Mary Magdalene. The seventh has a dead Christ between S. Mark and Mary Virgin. They have gold backgrounds, and are thoroughly Sienese in character, particularly in the colouring, dainty and firm in drawing, and full of feeling. No. 20, *S. John Baptist* with SS. James and Paul, and a prophet in the gable, is one of the larger panels of the same altar piece. No. 39, *S. Ursula in the act of Saving the City of Pisa*, by Bruno di Giovanni, was painted for S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno. The saint appears as protector of the city. She is clad in a royal mantle emblazoned all over with the ghibelline eagle, and leans forward, supporting herself on a staff with the banner of the Commune, to draw Pisa out of a raging river full of most lively fish. Pisa is a slight girlish figure, her dress covered with the imperial eagles. The Almighty above stretches out His hand to stay the flood. On the right are Ursula's maidens, grave stately creatures in wimples. Though not a strong picture, it is graceful and lovable, besides being extremely decorative. Nos. 41, 45, and 46 are small fourteenth-century Florentine pictures of the school of Giotto, with scenes from the *Life of S. Galgano*, delicately finished in the style of miniatures. The rest of the pictures in this room are Florentine and Sienese of the fourteenth century. No. 43 is a *Nativity*, perhaps by Traini, but a rather inferior work, in which God the Father appears above, angels and monk-shepherds standing on a rock to the right. Between Salas III. and IV. is a rather attractive, but not remarkable, *Madonna Enthroned*, signed, *Andrea de Pisas me pinsit* 1490.

Sala IV. has more Pisan, Sienese, and Tuscan pictures of the fourteenth century. No. 18, *S. Romualdo and S. Boniface*, is of the Sienese school of the fourteenth century, and though crude in treatment is

full of expression and feeling. No. 20, *S. Dominic*, by Traini, is the central panel of a triptych whose two wings are in the Seminario Arcivescovile. The saint, in the habit of the Order, is represented with his emblems, the book and the lily; his figure not wanting in dignity. In the pinnacle is the Redeemer in the act of benediction. The work, with its fine firm outlines and good draperies, is very like his S. Thomas Aquinas in technique, and like that, also, more Sienese than Florentine. No. 33, a polyptych with the *Madonna and Child*, is by Giovanni di Niccola, a fourteenth-century Pisan painter.

In *Sala V.* the pictures are chiefly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. No. 6, *Madonna and Child*, by Barnaba da Modena, one of his best and most important works, is signed, rather indistinctly, *Barnabas de Mutina Pinxit . . . Cives et Mercatores Pisani Pro Salute. . . .* It was one of four pictures he painted in Pisa when summoned to finish the series of S. Ranieri frescoes in the Campo Santo, a work which for some unknown reason he never executed. No. 8, a *Madonna*, also signed by Barnaba, was painted at the same time for the church of S. Francesco; it recalls in composition his picture in the church of S. Giovanni Battista at Alba, and another in the gallery at Turin. He has returned to Byzantine methods in this picture, though without conviction, which gives it an archaistic appearance. No. 8 *bis*, is a *Madonna and Child*, by Spinelli Aretino, probably contemporary with his frescoes in the Campo Santo. In No. 17, *S. Anthony, S. James, and S. John the Baptist*, Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini carries on the traditions of his father, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. No. 22 is a *S. Donnino*, by Taddeo di Bartolo, with a very charming crucifixion on the back. No. 26 is a *Madonna*, by Gentile da Fabriano, one of the greatest treasures of the museum. Seated on a

cushion, with the Babe on her lap, the sweet young mother looks down on him with musing delight and wonder. The gold work is exquisite, and there is a dainty grace and finish in every detail which makes Burckhardt say that in this picture Gentile shows himself the Fra Angelico of Umbria. No. 27, *The Mystical Marriage of S. Catherine of Siena*, by a Pisan painter of the fifteenth century, is an originally-composed picture.

The first picture in *Sala VI.* deserves attention: a *S. Ursula*, in a Gothic frame, possibly by Bernardino di Mariotto. The saint is standing against a gold background in a red and gold brocade mantle; at her feet is the inscription, *Sca Orsula Regina di Bretagna*. Above is the Trinity, and below are small scenes from her life. Originally the left wing of a triptych, its naive and sweet central panel is No. 19 in Sala VII., and the right wing is No. 28 in this same Sala VI., representing *S. Eulalia di Barcellona*. No. 7 is by Fra Angelico, a painted banner, representing the *Redeemer*, executed for the church of S. Domenico. The full-length figure is simple and majestic, and one of the most beautiful that Fra Angelico ever painted. No. 8 is the *Raising of Lazarus*, of the school of the Lorenzetti, a remarkable composition for the fourteenth century. No. 13, *S. Sebastian*, of the Umbro-Florentine school of the fifteenth century, with the saint relieved against the sky, is interesting. Zanobi Machiavelli, the pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, is represented by No. 20, the *Madonna Enthroned*, with SS. Francis, Ranieri, Vincent, and Zanobius; it is signed, *Opus. Zanobii . . . de Machiavellis*. It is much in the manner of Benozzo. Close by is No. 21, *SS. Sebastian and Roch*, attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio. His hand is apparent in part of the picture, but the larger portion is the work of his assistants. Sebastian leans against a

column with red drapery, a smart angel bearing his martyr's palm. S. Roch is tall and splendidly built; his tunic is greenish-blue, his mantle grey-purple. Both figures are relieved against a parapet through which a characteristic landscape is visible. It is an early work, and Pollaiuolesque in manner. According to Vasari it belonged to the Jesuates of S. Girolamo, to whom it was given by Leo X., whose arms appear on shields. At a later period it hung for a time in the church of S. Anna. Two other pictures by Domenico Ghirlandaio have been recently acquired, but are not exhibited in the Museo Civico. Both, also, come from the church of S. Anna, where they hung until recently. A *Madonna Enthroned*, in a niche, is the first, with S. Jerome and another saint on the left, and S. Anthony and another on the right, besides the kneeling Tobias and his angel. A sweet, rather timid, picture, it was entirely repainted, together with the following picture, about seventy years ago, and is not in very good condition. The second is another *Madonna Enthroned*, with SS. Lawrence and Dorothea on the right, and SS. Stephen and Catherine on the left. With all the sweetness of the first picture, it is much better preserved. These appear to be the pictures mentioned by Vasari as painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio for the church of S. Girolamo, belonging to the Jesuates.

No 23 is a *Madonna Enthroned*, with SS. Benedict, Scholastica, Ursula, and John Capristrana, by Benozzo Gozzoli. In spite of the dulled colour this is one of his most important panels, with a Virgin rather of Beltraffio's type. It was painted for the nuns of S. Benedetto a Ripa d'Arno. No. 24, *S. Anna with the Virgin and Child on her knees*, is also certainly by Benozzo. In the gable above is God the Father, on the right a tiny kneeling nun, on the left are two young women with a good deal of charm and ease of pose,

The background is a diapered curtain, and the whole is a little precious. Its provenance is uncertain. Polloni and Grassi say that it came from S. Marta, the inventory of the gallery from S. Domenico. No. 27, *S. Paul*, is an early work by Masaccio. The saint, in a yellow dress relieved against a gold background, holds a drawn sword in his right hand, a book in his left. Not a very characteristic work.

In a corner room is *S. Catherine of Alexandria*, a sixteenth-century Dutch picture, attributed somewhat doubtfully to Lucas van Leyden.

This leads us to *Sala VII.* Here note No. 6, the *Madonna Enthroned*, probably by Raffaellino di Carli. The Madonna is between four saints, with an angel on either side, against a background of elaborate open arches. It was originally in the inner oratory of the nuns at S. Matteo, and the predella that formerly hung in that church almost certainly belonged to it. The latter has come into the possession of the Museo Civico, together with the triptych by Pierin del Vaga, above which it hung in the church of S. Matteo. Neither are as yet placed in the gallery, but this seems a convenient moment to describe them. The predella by Raffaellino di Carli includes two small scenes, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *The Massacre of the Innocents*, with many charming and gracefully-arranged little figures, some of which have a certain suggestion of the Ferrara-Bolognese school, although the work in general is distinctly Umbrian in type. The *triptych* by Pierin del Vaga has on the left a bishop in green vestments, in the centre the Madonna seated on the ground at a low table, on which the Child lies asleep, with sewing things in her hand. S. Joseph is asleep. The painting is curiously Venetian, particularly in the saint on the right.

Among the many sixteenth and seventeenth-century

pictures, No. 19, the *Madonna and Saints*, is a large work by Sodoma. The Madonna is enthroned between SS. Sebastian and Joseph on one side, SS. Peter and John the Baptist on the other. SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine are in the foreground. The life-size figures disposed in a rich landscape are of the same type as those in the picture of the chapel in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. It was painted for S. Maria della Spina in 1542, and is somewhat ruined and very unequal. No. 22 is a fragment of a fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio.

Sala VIII. contains mediocre portraits and Guido Reni's unpleasant *Sacred and Profane Love*.

Sala IX. has various portraits of some historical interest, including those of the Grand Duke Leopoldo I., Maria Luisa, his wife, and Anna Maria de' Medici, wife of John William, Elector Palatine.

A room to the left has a collection of Pisan seals and coins. The first seal of the city bore the imperial eagle, with the legend, URBIS ME DIGNUM PISANE NOSCITE SIGNUM. A seal with the Virgin and Child and the motto, VIRGINIS ANCILLA SUM PISA QUIETA SUB ILLE, appears to have been used at the same time alternatively. Both may be seen here; the latter is so fine in design as to be attributed to Nino or to Andrea Pisano. The seal of the Consuls of the Merchants, with the device of an eagle grasping a bale of merchandise and the inscription, S. CONSULUM MERCATORUM PISANE CIVITATIS, is of great interest, as being the oldest of its kind known to exist. The seals of the Guild of Wool Merchants (Arte della Lana) and the Office of Roads (Curia delle Vie) should also be noted, as well as that of the Pisan Jews. The seal of the Consuls of the Sea is represented by an impression from the original in the Museo Nazionale of Florence. Of the religious seals, that of S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno is noteworthy

as the record of one of the oldest monasteries in Pisa. It bears the seated effigy of S. Paul and the inscription, S MONASTERII SANCTI PAULI AD RIPAM ARNI. A collection of Roman and Byzantine coins found in and near the Piazza del Duomo, and the church of S. Pietro a Grado, bear interesting testimony to the Roman epoch in Pisa.

Pisan coins are well represented. Money was probably coined in the city from an earlier period, but the first exact information we have concerning the mint is of the eighth century. The privilege of coining money was confirmed by Frederick I. in 1155, and again by Charles VIII. in 1495, after the first Florentine occupation. The mint perished with the independence of Pisa in 1509, but was re-opened for a short time by Ferdinando I. in 1595.

The collection begins with a Republican coin of Byzantine design, followed by coins of Frederick I., Frederick II., Henry VII., and Charles VIII. Among the rare pieces are a golden coin of the Lombard epoch, with the motto, GLORIOSA PISA; a gold sequin of Charles VIII.; various eagles, with the legend, HERICUS (Henry VII.); and *grossoni* of Frederick II. The coins of several other Tuscan towns are represented, including, of course, those of Florence, which became current in Pisa after 1509.

Sala X. has fragments of sculpture of the fourteenth century from the Baptistery, of eleventh and twelfth-century sculpture from the façade of the Duomo, and some remains of the fourteenth century from S. Maria della Spina. The famous inscription from the fortress of La Verruca, hitherto regarded as the earliest in the vernacular, the date being interpreted to mean 1103, is now considered by some authorities to read 1503. It runs thus: A. DI. DODICI. DI. GUGNO. MCOIII.

Through this room is the *Saletta del Giuoco del*

Ponte, where the relics of this much-loved pastime are preserved. Here we see prints of the game as played at different epochs. One of them is dedicated to the sublime merit of the most illustrious Mr George King and the most illustrious lady, Isabella, Countess of Lanesborough, and in it Milord and Milady are seen honouring the game with their presence, their boat in the foreground sheltered beneath the aegis of the British flag. There is also a model of the Ponte di Mezzo, with little dolls disposed like the squadrons in order of battle. Here, too, are remains of the quaint armour worn by the combatants, and several of the *Targoni*, or shields, which were their only offensive or defensive weapons. These are gaily painted, and each of them bears its own vain-glorious motto. *Senza temer tempeste*, "I fear no tempests," says one. *Numquam retrorsum*, "Never behind!" another boasts. A third says very quaintly:

Decrepito e Vecchio Sono
Portatemi rispetto o vi bastono!

"I am old and decrepit, treat me with respect or I will beat you." Yet another has this ardent motto over the device of a flaming heart: *M'arde d'onor la fiamma*, "The flame of honour consumes me." Another charming feature of the room is the amusing collection of sonnets and allocutions connected with the game, on such subjects, to take one at random, as: "Applause of the incomparable valour of the troop "called the Guastatori, armed by Sebastiano Jacopo "Parenti and Ranieri Lucchini, for the most glorious, "most complete and most singular victory gained by the "valorous cavaliers of the South over those of the North "with an equal number of combatants, on the 27th of "April in the year 1776."

Sala XI. has Florentine tapestry of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries, and some sixteenth-century costumes, which were formerly used to clothe wooden statues of the Madonna and saints at the religious festivals, and *Sala XII.* a most interesting collection of early Pisan and other sculpture. There are many noteworthy pieces. Most important among them is No. 25, *The Annunciation*, by Nino Pisano. The Virgin and the announcing angel are life-size wooden figures, reminiscent both in conception and feeling of his representation of the same subject in the church of S. Francesco. Another *Annunciation*, Nos. 3 and 11, a fourteenth-century work of the Pisan school, has a painted wooden figure of the Virgin, with a dress that is now red, but shows traces of different colouring beneath. The angel's robe is white, dotted with red flowers, his mantle blue. It belonged to the convent of S. Domenico. No. 5 is a fifteenth-century Florentine terra-cotta bust of the *Redeemer*, painted to imitate life. Nos. 8 and 9 are fragments of wood carving from the Baptistery and the choir of the Duomo. No. 13, a majolica tondo of the *Madonna and Child*, is a fifteenth-century work of the school of the Della Robbia, as is also No. 15, *The Virgin Adoring the Child.* Next to it, No. 16, is a quaint fifteenth-century painted wooden statue of S. Ubaldesca, a Pisan saint, and No. 20 is a somewhat similar work of the fourteenth century, representing an *Unknown Female Saint.* No. 21 belongs to another school, that of Matteo Civitale of Lucca; it formed the central part of a *Confessional* and has finely carved panels. The Florentine school of the sixteenth century claims No. 23, a beautiful *Ciborium*, with adoring angels and a bust of God the Father. Nos. 17 and 24 are portions of the row of decorative heads on the outside of the Campo Santo.

Sala XIII. has rather a dreary collection of

pictures of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEMINARY

near S. Caterina, contains some of the most precious pictures in Pisa, six tempera panels by Simone Martini. These formed the greater part of the polyptych of which one panel and seven small predella are in the Museo Civico. Painted sometime after 1320[1] for the church of S. Caterina, at the commission of Frate Pietro of the monastery connected with the church, it was removed thence after a fire in 1651, and broken up. Nowhere is Simone's passionate love of beauty better seen, or his exquisite colour and almost Japanese precision of line. Nowhere does he charm us more. The first panel has a half-length figure of a portentously-grave *S. Peter Martyr*, whose cowl forms a beautiful line round his neck; the second, of *S. Dominic*, with the lily. These two solemn faces loom out from a simple mass of dark draperies. Then comes *S. Mary Magdalene*, a peculiarly lovely figure. She holds the pot of ointment in very dainty fingers, and has an exquisite green veil, lined with red. *S. Catherine of Alexandria* is, perhaps, the most lovable of all. The grace of her attitude is poignantly felt, and the harmony of colour made by her brown eyes, exquisite peach-like complexion, veiled reddish-blonde hair, and gold-brocaded dress is quite entrancing. Not least among her charms are the hands, whose perfection of line is memorable, in spite of the fact that the one with the book is repainted. Except for that, this panel, more fortunate than the others, is in an excellent condition. The next in order, which has suffered terribly, is *S. John the*

[1] He also executed the picture on the high altar in the church of Santa Caterina at Pisa, for the preaching friars.—Vasari, *Life of Simone and Lippo Memmi*.

Evangelist, a perfect presentment of the disciple that Jesus loved. His young beardless manhood is gentle and sweet, well calculated to win the affection of all men. Last of the series is a panel with the *Virgin and Child*. This has been even more repainted than the others, but the grace of the design is still delightfully evident, while Simone's old bondage to Duccio, his master, is obvious in the type of Our Lady's countenance. On a border beneath is the inscription, *Symon de Senis m . . . pinxit*. The S. John the Baptist is merely a copy of the original in the Museo Civico. The panels are pointed, and two small figures occupy each gable. All are beautiful, but most of all the figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, which have an incomparable incisiveness of line and jewel-like quality of colour. Gabriel is clad in the same gold robes as in Simone's great Annunciation in the Uffizi, and, like that announcing angel, bears a beautifully-drawn olive-branch.

Eight small panels by Traini hang in the same room. Originally the side pieces of a polyptych, they have long been divorced from the central panel, a full-length figure of S. Dominic in the Museo Civico. According to Vasari the altarpiece was executed for a member of the house of Coscia, who lies buried in the chapel of S. Domenico in S. Caterina. But the inscription on the side-wings states that it was painted in the time of John Cocus, one of the Operarii of the church of S. Maria of Pisa, by Francesco Traini, for the repose of the soul of Albizzo della Statere.[1] In Albizzo's will, dated January 25, 1336, which still exists, there is a clause relating to the erection of an altar in S.

[1] Hoc Opus factum fuit Tempore Domini Johannis Coci Operarii Opere Majoris Ecclesie Sancte Marie pro Comuni Pisano, pro anima Domini Albisi de Staterus de Pe . . . supradicte, Franciscus Traini Pin.

Caterina of Pisa, for which a picture was commissioned from Traini. Part of it was finished in April, 1345, it seems, on the authority of records that are still preserved, and the rest in the following January.[1]

Scenes from the Legend of S. Dominic are represented in the side panels. His birth is the first episode. Giovanna Aza, his mother, lies asleep, and two nurses watch over the babe, who seems to have come into the world with a nimbus round his tiny head. Next comes the Vision of Pope Innocent III., in which he sees the church upheld by the two hands of S. Dominic. The third panel has the Apparition of SS. Peter and Paul to the Saint, at the gate of the Lateran, and the fourth shows him in the act of burning heretical books, while the gospel lies unhurt in the heart of the fire. A second series begins with the double scene of the Death and Resurrection of Napoleone, nephew of Cardinal Fossanuova, S. Dominic by his prayers recalling him to life. After that, S. Dominic saves a boatload of pilgrims from drowning in the Garonne, during his residence in Toulouse. The third scene shows the miraculous dream of Guala, prior of Brescia. S. Dominic is seen lying on the ground with two ladders, supported by Christ and the Virgin, resting on his body, while angels carry his soul up their steps. With the Burial of the Saint the series ends. All the panels are collected in two frames, each of which is pinnacled, with figures of Daniel and Isaiah in the one gable, and Jeremiah and Ezekial in the other. There is a certain sweetness of feeling combined with a smooth monotony of execution throughout. The landscape backgrounds are naively charming, the finish careful, and the action lively. More Sienese than Florentine, the prevailing character of these pleasant little pictures is that of Traini's other works.

[1] *Memorie*, Bonaini, pp. 11, 12, and 109.

The University

In this ancient seat of learning the university must not be forgotten. *La Sapienza*, the original building, has its entrance in Via S. Frediano, and nothing could be more typically Pisan than its sober brown walls. The gateway is surmounted by ancient shields displaying the eagle of the emperor and the cross of the Commune, the shield of the Gherardesca, which once stood beside it, being now defaced. But these, and a Medicean coat-of-arms on the side facing Via della Sapienza, are all that break the monotony of the solid rectangular structure. Within is a large cloistered court. It is good, but simple, early Renaissance, in two Ionic Orders, with a delicate cornice. Lecture rooms surround it on the ground floor, while the former lodgings of the students above are occupied by the library and various offices. A good modern statue of Galileo, most famous son of the university, is in the great hall.

Law has been studied in Pisa since the twelfth century, when lectures on jurisprudence were given by the renowned Burgundio.[1] He is referred to in the very laudatory inscription on his tomb as the "doctor of doctors, the jewel of praiseworthy and eternal masters." After his day the study of law was kept alive, but the university proper seems to owe its foundation to Count Fazio della Gherardesca, in 1338. "He caused the Piazza degl' Anziani to be enlarged so that the nobility could walk there with the greater ease, and to increase the consequence of the city he proposed, with the full concurrence of the Elders and the Senate, to found a University. His intention was

[1] A document of 1194 speaks of the study of jurisprudence and of the Pisan scholars, so that it must have been in existence for some time before that date.

to invite the most learned doctors to lecture, and having rebuilt the Lecture Theatre of the Schools, he sent an ambassador to Pope Benedict XII., supplicating him of his clemency to authorize the imposition of tithes on all ecclesiastics for the maintenance of the professors. His Holiness refused the request, but the Pisans, who were determined to carry out their idea, proceeded to invite famous men of letters to Pisa. From the Acts of the Commune it appears that, in 1340, Bartoli da Sassoferata was appointed at a salary of 150 florins of the value of three lire, and Messer Guido of Prato, a skilled physician and surgeon, at 230 gold florins of the value of three lire of Pisan money."[1]

The papal favour refused by Benedict XII. was accorded by Clement VI., who, in 1343, conferred the desired rights and privileges on the university.[2] After that it increased and flourished until the reverses of the Republic, in 1407, caused a similar decline in its fortunes. Even the influence of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who came to its aid in 1479, could not effect more than a partial recovery, during which the university building was begun, "in order that the Schools of all the faculties might be united in one suitable building."[3] But the plague broke out soon afterwards, devastating the city again and again. The survivors fled in dismay, Pisa was almost deserted, and the fortunes of the struggling university reached their lowest ebb. An appeal to Charles VIII. of France, in whom the Pisans had such touching faith, resulted in nothing but disappointment. Nor did a brighter day

[1] *Annali di Pisa*, Tronci, iii. 160.

[2] The Bull, dated from Avignon on iii. non. Septem. conferring them, is still in the *Archivio delle Riformazioni* in Florence.

[3] *Annali di Pisa*, Tronci, ii. 252.

dawn until 1542, when Cosimo I. breathed new life into the moribund institution. He endowed it afresh with ecclesiastical tithes, and, after completing the university building, La Sapienza, he summoned the most famous professors from every land and founded several new chairs. But the city, being surrounded by stagnant marshes, was still at the mercy of fever and of plague, whose ravages were not to be stayed. Repeated outbursts occurred during the succeeding century, and even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century La Sapienza was so forsaken that grass grew all round it and the colleges were empty, "none," says an old writer, "running faster from the Plague than the Scholars, especially when it comes near the Schools." Supported by the succeeding grand-dukes, the university has had a prosperous career, with a period of meteoric brilliancy under Napoleon I., who interested himself greatly in it. It is still considered one of the best of the Italian universities. There are now about 1000 students and six faculties: Theology, Jurisprudence, Philosophy and Philology, Medicine and Surgery, Mathematics, and Natural Science.

After Galileo, the brightest star that ever shone in the Pisan constellation, Andrea Vesalio, or Vesalius, the great anatomist, is perhaps the most widely-known light of the university. Born in Brussels, in 1514, he is considered the creator of the study of human anatomy, for which he had a passionate love. As a youth his days were spent in Paris, in the cemetery of the Innocents and on the hill of Montfaucon, quarrelling with other students for the corpses of malefactors to make skeletons of. Later he went to Italy, and was professor of anatomy at Padua from 1540 to 1544, then at Bologna, and finally at Pisa. The first edition of his great book appeared at Basle in 1545, and brought him immediate fame. Students

and teachers flocked from all parts to hear him lecture; he was appointed physician to Charles V., and accompanied his royal master everywhere. He subsequently entered the service of Philip II., and while in Spain fell into the hands of the Inquisition, was accused of vivisecting a Spanish nobleman, and condemned to death. Rescued with difficulty from the inquisitors, he was compelled to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. On his way back to Italy he was wrecked off the coast of Zante, and perished of hunger, in 1564.

The University Library is housed in La Sapienza, and occupies fourteen large rooms in the upper storey. In 1742, when first opened, it was of very modest proportions, consisting solely of books bequeathed to the university by two of its professors. From that time onwards it has grown steadily. The first large purchase was made about 1762, with funds provided by the State, of some 6000 volumes, and soon afterwards two important libraries were acquired. When the Grand-Duke Pietro Leopoldo broke up the Cesareo-Lotaringio-Palatina Library, many precious volumes fell to the share of Pisa, and are still distinguished from the rest of the books by their calf binding stamped with the arms of the city of Nancy, the former seat of the Dukes of Lorraine to whom the library belonged. With the suppression of the monastery of S. Michele in 1788, of the colleges La Sapienza—a residential house for students founded by Cosimo I. in the upper storey of the university building—Collegio Ferdinando, and, later, of the regular monastic Orders, many valuable books and manuscripts found their way into the library. Its greatest benefactor, however, was Giuseppe Piazzini, who became librarian in 1823, when he transferred the library from its first inconvenient quarters in Via S. Maria to its

present roomy position, augmented it by large gifts of books, and bequeathed to it a considerable sum of money. His example has been largely followed, and the library has received many recent legacies and bequests. All branches of literature are represented on its shelves, which now contain more than 100,000 books. Among the manuscripts of interest are a twelfth-century codex of the Latin *Gospel of S. Luke*, with notes and commentaries, a beautiful piece of workmanship, and a *Liber Psalmorum* of the same century. Of Incunabila, the most remarkable are Lactantius Firmanus, 1468; Tortellius Johannes, Aretinus, 1471; Dathus Augustinus, 1471; and Valturius Robertus, 1472. The celebrated *Statuto di Pisa*, the laws of the State which were drawn up during the government of the ill-fated Ugolino della Gherardesca, formerly belonged to the library, but was transferred to the Archivio di Stato some eighty years ago.

The entrance to the library is through the main gateway of La Sapienza, in Via S. Frediano, and up the staircase to the left. Strangers are received with the utmost courtesy, and allowed to use the library without any troublesome formalities.

Off-shoots of the university are numerous, the oldest of them being the *Botanical Garden* and the *Natural History Museum*, both in Via Solferino, the latter within the former. It is with a gasp of pleasure that one leaves the arid street for this cool green pleasance where there is shade in abundance, and rare and noble trees, besides palms, magnolias, mimosas, and many tropical rarities. But of form there is very little, and the heart of the lover of historic gardens sinks when it sees how carefully every trace of the past has been eliminated. The Natural History Museum stands opposite the garden

gate, a plain building with a rocaille grotto in its façade.

Once, as we have seen, there was no room within the walls of Pisa for gardens. Since then the city has shrunk like a dry kernel, and many deserted corners have blossomed into green oases. Quite the most important of these is the Botanical Garden, or Garden of Simples, as it was once called. It was one of Cosimo I.'s innumerable foundations, instituted in 1544, and it claims two years' seniority over the Paduan garden, usually reputed the oldest in Italy. First planted on the Lung' Arno, between the arsenal and the church of S. Vito, it became known as the *Orto Navale*. Luca Ghino da Imola, a famous scientist, was summoned from Bologna to watch over it, and Cosimo caused America and the East Indies to be ransacked for rare trees and plants, which he lavished upon it.

In 1563, however, another of his hobbies being in the ascendant, he abolished the garden to make room for a covered dock to house the huge galleys of the knights of S. Stefano, the so-called *cales*, which still exists. The plants were moved to temporary quarters near the old church of S. Viviani, where they remained for nearly thirty years. Then, in 1592, Grand-Duke Ferdinand I. moved the garden into its present position, buying land for the purpose from the widow of Alessandro Venerosi. Laid out on a much grander scale than before, by Guiseppe Benincasa, it is said to have been very beautiful. At the same time Ferdinand founded the Museum of Natural History, building it on part of the newly-acquired land. It contains fine collections of Tuscan ornithology and geology, the collection of rocks and fossil organic remains being perhaps the most complete in Italy.

The old travellers often included a visit to the

museum and garden in their *giro* of the city. John Evelyn was there in 1644. He says: "Hence we went to the Colledge to which joins a gallery so furnish'd with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dry'd animals, skeletons, etc., as is hardly to be seen in Italy. To this the Physiq Garden lies, where is a noble palm tree and very fine water works."

Hard upon his heels followed Richard Lassels. He was not interested in the garden, and frankly said so. "The Garden of Simples may be rare," is his verdict, "but we not understanding this Hearb Language hastened to the house of the Knights of S. Stephen."

Further additions to the garden were made by Grand-Dukes Pietro Leopoldo and Leopoldo II. As late as 1836, of which date we have an engraving representing it, the water works admired by Evelyn survived, together with the formal parterres and clipped hedges. But now all these glories have departed.

The Archivio Di Stato, or City Archives

The lover of old books, bygone days, and the intricate paths of literature could wish for no greater happiness than to spend his days in one of the municipal archives of Italy. They are to be found in every city; they are nearly always housed in historic palaces. A singular silence and a sensation of busy leisure pervades them, while room after room, shelf after shelf, hold out the promise of delightful revelations. No livery suits books so well as the old vellum coats that are almost universal on their shelves, with here and there the gleam of faded gold and russet calf, and no titles charm the eye like those written in pale monkish script. But as we advance further into the penetralia of the archives even this antique garb

gives place to a yet older one, or rather the books themselves give place to rolls of parchment with leaden or waxen seals attached, that crackle deliciously as they are unrolled and reveal the signature of an emperor, a pope, a great artist, or a captain of the people. Here a document tells of the sale of a female slave in the tenth century, speaking with horrible minuteness of the number of her teeth and her every physical charm, there the elaborate signature of a twelfth-century tyrant sprawls across the broad page. Unrolling another, a splendid genealogical tree displays itself. Springing out of Adam and Eve, its ramifications include all the legendary and real heroes of the world, and culminate in the richly-blazoned and many-quartered shield of some noble nobody.

The whole history of the city lies hidden in these dusty rolls for the student to extract. Here he may see the first gift of lands to the Church, the accounts of the building of the great mediæval cathedral, and the privileges conferred on it by successive popes. He will note, too, the growth of the city, and read how it outgrew its cincture of walls, and perhaps imposed a tax to enable them to be enlarged. The conflicts of the nobles with the people will fill many a sheet, while others record the statutes of a young and struggling community.

But there is joy for the lover of beauty as well as for the student on these shelves. In the leisurely middle ages men found time to make even their legal documents beautiful, and one may spend a morning of tranquil happiness over the initial letters of one manuscript alone. It often proves a very epitome of its age, and shows in little how the knights looked when they were armed cap-a-pie and sat so upright on their high-peaked saddles. We see their sharp spurs and the cruel bits that torment their heavy thick-

necked steeds, and almost hear the trumpeter blow a gay flourish from that long trumpet of his with its beautifully-embroidered banner. On another page we see the same knights and squires seated at a banquet. Now they are sleek-haired, and instead of morion or helm wear the peaceful wreath round their well-oiled locks. They are clad in scarlet bravery, long gowns perchance, with scalloped edges and sleeves fully as fantastic as those of an angel in the old pictures, or of a fashionable lady of to-day. The minstrel in his striped cloak stands humbly in a corner twanging psaltery or lute. The door of the banqueting hall is set ajar, and there is revealed a vision of sleepy turn-spits lazily twirling the roast boar or peacock before a great fire, while Beppo the scullion stealthily extracts a sly morsel from my lord's pasty. Or the poor peasants dig and plough, sow their seed broadcast, and pull queer little harrows over their fields; their tools and methods, their aprons and little wooden barrels for wine, nay, their very faces, the same as to-day. In the merry greenwood lords and ladies ride a-hawking on tall horses, hooded falcon on wrist, and there is amusement for some of us in noting that madonna is as mannish in her attire as any dress-reformer of our generation. He and she ride hand in hand and eye in eye, but a little black devil lurks behind a tree, grinning with delight at all this innocent dalliance, because he knows how it will end. A whole world is enclosed within the covers, full of colour, sound, and delight.

Upon the ancient walls of these old palaces, white-washed very likely, some faded picture may be seen, a dark portrait, perhaps, of some long-dead ruler of the city, or a presentment of her ancient walls and towers. The traveller is welcomed with the kindliest hospitality. He is given the freedom of shelf and cupboard, to

which his path is made straight and easy by willing hands.

Pisa is more than usually fortunate in the home of her archives. The Palazzo Gambacorti, notable both for architecture and for history, has long Gothic windows that let in the sun, and at the same time look down upon the rushing river, the beautiful sweep of the Lung' Arno, and the Ponte di Mezzo, on which the last echoes of the Battle of the Bridge have hardly yet died away. A long range of lofty halls, illuminated above with the recognizances of the great Pisan families, contain the ancient archives nearest to all scholarly hearts, while less noble chambers house the commercial papers of the city of to-day. Not content, however, with such spacious quarters, the papers and documents have leapt right across the street and installed themselves at their ease in the big square hall over the Loggie di Banchi.

Beginning in order, we pass through an ante-room in which hangs a fine full-length portrait by Bronzino, perhaps, or by one of his scholars, of the Grand-Duke Cosimo I., grand-ducal robes and all, wearing the pretty Tuscan crown with its scarlet fleur-de-lis which also tips the summit of his sceptre with its little flame. Cosimo's gaze is fixed, appropriately enough, on the opposite side of the room. There stands a model of one of those knightly galleys of the Order of S. Stefano that he fought so hard to institute, and that did such stout service against the infidel corsairs.

The actual archives, arranged in their present order between 1860 and 1865, begin in the next room. Here are stored the voluminous records of all the suppressed monastic houses of Pisa and her subject villages. There are the papers of some sixty of them. It is an imposing sight, and the serried ranks of stout volumes reaching from floor to ceiling help us to

realise better than anything else the number and the importance of the monasteries in an old-world Italian city. Under the dry form of leases and inventories, of transfers of land, and of privileges bestowed, what dramas must be concealed between these covers to him who knows how to read. Faith and credulity, generosity and avarice, simplicity and cunning, jostle one another.

The papers of the hospitals follow, ancient and venerable foundations dating back to the early middle ages, of the Misericordia, the lay Confraternities, and the Companies of Discipline.

The University records fill many shelves, as do those of the Opera del Duomo, a collection of the greatest interest to the art historian; and the municipal records of the Republic are finally reached. These form a goodly company. Of parchment charters alone there are some fifteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-five, of which the oldest goes back to 780, a collection considered one of the most remarkable in Italy, although its greatest treasures, the Pisan Codex and the Codex of Justinian, were long ago carried off by the Florentines to enrich the Laurentian Library. There is a document signed by Frederick Barbarossa, dated from Pavia on April 6, 1162, referring to the military service to be rendered to him by the city of Pisa. Another, purporting to bear the signature of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and the date 1192, is merely a late copy. There is a great array of statute books, solid volumes with vellum pages and stout wooden boards, adorned within by many beautiful miniatures. One of the most important, historically as well as artistically, is the *Judicial Statutes of* 1161, with additions showing that they remained in force at least until 1559. Written for the most part in the clear and delicate hand of the early fourteenth century

(1307), it has some very good initial letters. The *Breve Pisani Communis*, also of the fourteenth century, includes a beautiful Madonna, the heraldic device and protector of the city, and other illuminations. Another fine book is the *Statuto di Pisa*, of October 11 and of July 26, written about 1312. The so-called *Statuto of Ugolino*, written during the lifetime of that unfortunate ruler, contains more *Breve Pisani Communis*, the *Breve Popoli et Compagniarum*, and dates back to 1286. Altogether there are forty-eight thousand volumes of manuscripts and old prints.

The modern archives, containing the commercial and judicial records of later days, are less interesting, save to the specialist; but the Loggie di Banchi, reached by a bridge over the street, contains not only the complete archives of the Order of S. Stefano, but the very interesting and curious records of the Consuls of the Sea, of the Office of Fiumi e Fossi, and of the brief Kingdom of Etruria, of Napoleonic origin.

The Opera del Duomo, on the north side of the Piazza del Duomo, carries on the long, low line of the Campo Santo eastward of the dal Pozzo chapel. Its simple Gothic exterior has no ornament to boast of, but the form of the windows and the general structure seem to belong to the thirteenth century. The ground floor has a charming open loggia, painted with Raffaelesque arabesques of the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Stefano Maruscelli, it is said. On the upper floor is the large hall, with a fine timbered roof and painted frieze of the early Renaissance. To the right of the door is a ruined fresco, the *Madonna Enthroned*, with SS. John the Baptist and Luke, belonging to the Pisan school of the thirteenth century; a poor work, but rich in colour. Opposite the door is a very badly-repainted panel, another *Madonna Enthroned*, this time with SS. John the Baptist and Peter. The

heads are the work of a Tuscan painter of the early sixteenth century; the rest is a modern pasticcio.

Inscriptions on the wall record the visit of the Emperor Charles IV., in 1356, and of Charles VIII. of France, in 1494. The former event is historical, and took place the second time that the Emperor was in Pisa, on his way back from his coronation in Rome. The Palazzo degl' Anziani was his first resting-place, but driven out by a fire that partly destroyed it he took refuge here in the lodgings of the canons. As to the visit of Charles VIII., although the majority of writers state that he actually lodged here, it seems to have been limited to a banquet at which he was entertained by the canons. There can be no doubt that he spent the whole of his time at Pisa at the Palazzo Pieracchi, known afterwards as Palazzo Medici.

The *Chapter Library* is also housed in the palace of the *Opera*, and includes a collection of documents relating to the privileges and immunities conferred on the canons by various popes and emperors. Besides these are the records of payments made to the craftsmen employed at the Duomo, and the account-books belonging to the building of the Baptistery. The stately signature of the Countess Matilda appears on two parchments. In the first, dated June 7, 1100, she promises her protection to the cathedral body, and confirms their tenure of lands and of various possessions; in the second, dated August 27, 1078, she confers lands upon the bishops and canons. An interesting note from Giovanni, a Pisan priest, deals with the imprisonment and death of Ugolino della Gherardesca. Besides these are some fine graduals and antiphonaries of the fifteenth century, whose glowing pages are adorned with exquisite miniatures by Pisan, Sienese, and French artists. But the gem of the whole collec-

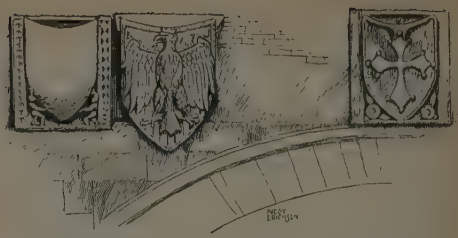
tion is a fine picture by Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini, son and pupil of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and one of the ablest of the later Giottesques. It will be found in the Sala delle Adunanze Capitolare, and represents three almost life-sized *Saints*. S. Ranieri is on the left, a pope or bishop in the centre, and S. Michael the archangel on the right. It originally formed one wing of a triptych that Lorenzo painted for the Duomo, of which the central panel, with the Madonna and Child, has disappeared; the other wing, No. 17 in Sala V. in the Museo Civico, has already been mentioned. The portion we have before us was preserved for many years in the capitular church, S. Spirito, which formed part of the lodgings of the canons, and stood between the palace of the Opera and the Duomo. When S. Spirito was demolished it was transported hither. The figures are strong and stately in character, the colour rich. The central figure wears a chasuble of the Greek form, that was also adopted by the English Church. It is of an exquisite mulberry colour, enriched with some wonderfully fine and delicate gold work. S. Ranieri seems to wear the *schiavina*, or slave shirt, which he assumed as a token of humility, and in his right hand holds a pilgrim's staff, in his left a slave's iron collar. The splendid archangel, as is fitting, wears a gold-embroidered mantle of vivid scarlet, while his armour and shield gleam with gold.

The Università dei Cappellani, on the south side of the Piazza del Duomo, at the corner of Via S. Maria, has one picture by Benozzo Gozzoli that is worth seeing, in the Sala delle Adunanze.[1] It is one of the panel pictures he produced so freely during the years

[1] The Università dei Cappellani is usually shut, but the chaplains are to be found in the Duomo after high mass, about ten o'clock, and are most courteous in granting admission to strangers.

that he was working at the frescoes in the Campo Santo. Belonging to his latest period, the colour is rather bright and garish, and it has been crudely restored in places. The Madonna is seated against a red brocade curtain, with SS. Lorenzo and Lazzaro on the left, and SS. Anthony Abbot and Bernardino on the right, while below kneel the male and female donors. The frame is old and beautiful, though the frieze of cherubs holding garlands at the top is quite modern. It is inscribed: *Gianpiero Da Porta Venere e Mona Michaela Dalla Spetie Feciono Fare Questa Tavola MCCCCLXX.* The predella has a dead Christ and saints.

A visit to the Archivio Arcivescovile, in the archbishop's palace, reveals an astonishing number of ecclesiastical documents indispensable to the historian of the Church in Pisa. The first series begins with a document dated 720, and relates entirely to donations made to the Duomo and the archbishop's palace. The parchments number altogether two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five. The second and third series relate entirely to the Pisan churches, while a supplementary series is not yet arranged. Previous to the time of the present cardinal-archbishop, these precious parchments were thrown in a corner, rudely tied together in bundles. Under his scholarly rule they have been carefully and lovingly ranged in cupboards, deciphered, and are about to be catalogued. A fine private collection of books is also in process of formation.



THE IMPERIAL EAGLE AND THE CROSS OF THE COMMUNE

CHAPTER XI

The Palaces of Pisa

"There is a street alongside the river Arno which is arched almost after the fashion of a crossbow, and fully as long as the city; at a glance the eye takes in the sweep with its stately palaces and houses all built of a great size, or I should say height, their beautiful windows adorned with columns of marble. No lovelier street can be seen in the whole world."—*Florentine Orafo of* 1425.

Palazzo Reale, Palazzo Uppezinghi, Palazzo Agostini, Palazzo Lanfranchi, Palazzo Vecchio, or Medici, Palazzo Scotto, the Tre Palazzi, Palazzo Ciampolini, the Prefettura, Loggie di Banchi, Palazzo Gambacorti, Palazzo del Veglio, Alfieri's House, Trovatelli, Collegio Ferdinando, Hospital of S. Chiara, Palazzo Arcivescovile, Palazzo Conventuale, Collegio Puteano, Palazzo del Consiglio, Leopardi's House in Via Fagiuola, Cassa di Risparmio, Palazzo Scorzi, Palazzo Rosselmini.

NOW, as in the time of the old Florentine, the finest palaces in Pisa are to be found on the Lung' Arno, though only two or three of those seen by him

have survived. Their successors, with a very few exceptions, are plain and unpretentious, but their good proportions and workmanship, and the beauty of the situation, cannot fail to convey an impression of dignity, if not of beauty. Another great centre for palaces was the Piazza de' Cavalieri, Piazza degl' Anziani as it was called in its days of glory. Probably the forum of classic Pisa, it was ever the centre of political life in the mediæval city, and the public buildings of the Commune and the Republic stood clustered round the official palace of the Elders. The fame of the ancient square and the splendour of its palaces not unnaturally suggested it to Cosimo I. as a suitable spot on which to plant his new Order of S. Stefano. With the help of the genial Giorgio Vasari, painter, writer and architect, he transformed the venerable palaces to new uses. The old walls were hidden away under a thin veneer of the pseudo-chivalry of the sixteenth century, every one of their stones thrilling with the memory of the great and terrible events they had witnessed.

Via S. Maria still retains several imposing buildings of the early and middle Renaissance, and there are palaces of an earlier date under the dark arcades of the Borgo, in the ancient Via S. Martino, and scattered here and there in the labyrinth of mediæval streets.

Beginning with the palaces on the north side of the Lung' Arno, we find the *Palazzo Reale*, or Granducale as it was originally called, between Via S. Maria and Piazza S. Niccolò. So modest is its exterior that it is easily passed over as the eye roams down the line of buildings that border the river. Even when identified the stranger wonders that so featureless a building, with so plain a white façade, should be worth mentioning. Indeed, from the architectural point of view it has little to commend it, and it is difficult to understand that Baccio Bandinelli, who built it at the

command of Cosimo I., in 1550, should not have had a nobler ideal of a royal residence. When it left his hands the palace was even more insignificant than it is now, and has since been greatly enlarged by Francesco I., and by Pietro Leopoldo. But the Palazzo Reale has seen so much of the later history of Pisa, and has opened its gates to so many distinguished strangers, that it cannot be passed over in silence. It has witnessed what can almost be called the new birth of Pisa. Built in the middle of the sixteenth century upon the ruins of one old palace, the Curia del Podestà, it was surrounded by the decaying remains of many others. War, pestilence, and famine had reduced the once glorious city to a condition of depopulation so terrible, that about this time its inhabitants are said to have barely numbered eight thousand. The streets were grass-grown, the towers truncated, and palace after palace had been abandoned or destroyed. Hardly was the new palace habitable than it was the scene of one of the most memorable functions that ever took place within its walls. Duke Cosimo I., in the heyday of his popularity, had just instituted his knightly Order of S. Stefano. He received the newly-devised insignia in the Duomo with great solemnity from the papal Legate, and on March 15, 1561, the first assembly of the Order took place in the Palazzo Reale. Clad in their new bravery the knights enthusiastically acclaimed Cosimo Grand-master of his new creation. Then, wearing the splendid mantle of the Order with its red cross and accompanied by the Nuncio, he led them in procession from the palace to the Piazza degl' Anziani, henceforth to be known as the Piazza de' Cavalieri. There, with his own hands, he laid the first stone of the church of S. Stefano. The people followed him in their thousands, blessing him, and hailing him as their deliverer from poverty and neglect. A few years

later, in 1570, Cosimo was created Grand Duke of Tuscany by the Pope, and continued to exert his influence on behalf of the unfortunate city of Pisa. By spending the winters there he encouraged the great Pisan families to return to their abandoned homes, and to rebuild their ruined palaces. Towards the end of his life Cosimo became more and more attached to Pisa. He brought with him the wife of his old age, Cammilla Martelli, and contemporary writers note how often they were seen driving about the city and the surrounding country, Cosimo's infirmities preventing him from any longer mounting a horse.

When Ferdinando I. succeeded his brother Francesco as Grand Duke, he showed his love of Pisa by making a solemn entry into the city soon after the similar ceremony at Florence. So glorious and magnificent, says his chronicler, was this festival, that it recalled to the minds of the spectators an antique Roman triumph. On March 31, 1588, Ferdinando arrived within a mile of the city gate, sprang out of his coach, and lightly leapt upon a splendid ambling palfrey. Then a little regiment of Pisan youths of noble birth, richly clad in white silk with cloaks of red silk-damask, came and bowed to the earth with cries of *Palle, Palle.* Each bore an olive branch in his hand, interwoven in which was a white streamer with the motto, *Recordatus est Dominus misericordiæ suæ.* At that moment a squadron of thirty noble youths made its appearance, in black velvet suits with trimmings and sleeves of red silk, and white shoes. In a trice they unfolded a great canopy over the head of the Grand Duke, and so accompanied him towards the city. Out streamed the priors, the knights of S. Stefano, the Consuls of the Sea, and other officials of the city to meet him, and one thousand five hundred soldiers of the Pisan militia were on duty near the

gate to fall in behind him. It was about four o'clock when his Grand Ducal Highness passed under the first of many triumphal arches that spanned his path. Around it was a vast throng of his rejoicing subjects, who followed him through the closely-packed streets, gaily decked with arras hangings and complimentary mottoes. As the procession passed along the Lung' Arno the rector of the university stood at the door of La Sapienza surrounded by his professors, and delayed the impatient ruler while he delivered what he termed a brief allocution, but whose tedious brevity made Ferdinando yawn. Placing a golden olive-branch in the Grand Ducal hand the rector bowed himself out backwards, and the long procession got under way. Nothing occurred to delay it further, and the palace being reached, the Grand Duke dismounted. Then the merry boys who bore the canopy seized not only upon that, but also upon the Duke's palfrey, in the name of ancient custom. Ferdinando was aghast. He loved the beast, and begged the rogues to accept instead two hundred scudi as a ransom. So the Grand Duke kept his palfrey, and the youths, loyal though mischievous, added three hundred scudi to the two hundred and caused Ferdinando's statue to be carved by Francavilla and set up in the piazza near the palace, where it stands to this day. Of the balls, the deputations, the embassy from Lucca, and the rest of the festivities in honour of Ferdinando's accession, we have no space to speak.

Having discarded the cardinal's hat in favour of the Tuscan crown, it behoved the Grand Duke to marry. An alliance was arranged with Cristina, daughter of the Duke of Lorraine and granddaughter of Henry II. of France and Catherine de' Medici, and the young bride started for her new home. Ferdinando despatched his galley, gorgeously adorned with gold and gems, to

Marseilles to meet her, under the command of Don Pietro, his cousin. A noble company of Italian gentlemen accompanied him on four more galleys, and the convoy was made up to sixteen sail by galleys belonging to the Pope, the knights of Malta and Genoa. By a happy chance they anchored at Marseilles the very day Cristina arrived there. The contemporary chronicler of these events describes her as gifted with high and noble ideas, and as truly religious. He also says that she was radiantly beautiful, and continues in so high a strain of extatic laudation of her, of her attendants, and of the festivities in her honour, that we can only cull here and there one of his calmer phrases. Cristina embarked on April 11, 1589, with her whole train, and touching at Monaco and at Genoa, after a serene voyage landed at Leghorn, when such was her impatience to reach Pisa that she almost immediately started for that city.

It is impossible to follow all the steps of her enthusiastic reception, which began at the church of S. Pietro a Grado, where by order of the Grand Duke she was met and complimented by the archbishop at the head of all his clergy. Enormous crowds flocked in from the neighbouring cities and villages to see their new sovereign, and the noise in the streets, the pealing of bells, salvoes of artillery, and shouts of joy must have almost deafened the French princess. After seeing a play in the palace that same evening, she was led out on to the balcony, where, says the chronicler, "she had the sweet surprise and infinite delight" of seeing the Lung' Arno brilliantly illuminated. She was at mass betimes in the morning, and the day passed in dancing and other diversions, horse-races, sports in the Arno, and so on. Towards evening a galleon slowly sailed down the river all painted with the arms and devices of Lorraine and Medici, while

above it floated a great standard and twenty smaller banners. The vessel stopped in front of the palace, and with much waving of banners and shouts acclaimed the princess, repeatedly firing off its ordnance to the accompaniment of gay military music. Then it was assailed by four Turkish galleys, against which it defended itself bravely. After many evolutions, illuminated by fireworks, the galleon appeared to be on the point of surrendering, when four other Christian vessels appeared and fell on the Turks most furiously, who, after wavering, suddenly took flight, leaving the Christians masters of the situation. Again they saluted the princess, celebrating their victory with joyous shouts and gay strains of music. Next day there was a special Giuoco del Ponte, when the squadrons were richly and fancifully dressed, which delighted the princess beyond measure. On the 27th, she at length resumed her journey, and met her bridegroom at the villa of Poggio a Cajano.

The marriage of Maria de' Medici to Henry IV. of France was the occasion of great rejoicings in Florence and in Pisa, where she spent two days on her way to embark at Leghorn. The young queen delighted the Pisans by visiting the Duomo to make a special act of devotion at the shrine of S. Ranieri, protector of the city.

Cosimo II. followed the custom of his house in spending much time in Pisa, and completed the aqueduct begun by Ferdinando I., which supplies Pisa with fresh water from the hills.

In the Piazza di S. Niccolò, close to the palace, is the above-mentioned statue of Ferdinando I., by Francavilla. It is more pretentious and nearly as uninteresting as its neighbour.

A little further on, at the corner of Via della Sapienza, is the fine solid middle-Renaissance façade

belonging to the *Palazzo Uppezinghi*, originally *Palazzo Lanfreduccio*, and often called *Alla Giornata*, from the motto over the door. In its rear is the ancient tower already described. On the architrave of the door is the motto, *Alla Giornata*, cut in bold letters, with a chain hanging above it. The chain is possibly intended to recall the fact that the palace was built on the site of the church of *S. Biagio alla Catena*, of which the Lanfreducci were the patrons, and which they destroyed to make room for their palace. The meaning of the inscription seems to be lost, but there is, of course, a picturesque legend which professes to explain both that and the chain. A certain nobleman it says, lord of this palace, owned a Moslem slave who perpetually begged his master to set him free. "Yes," said the lord in jest, "I will set thee free on the Friday whereon I do not fast," he being a good Christian and a strait observer of the fasts of the Church. Now it happened, when many years had passed, that the feast of the Nativity of our Lord fell on a Friday, and on Christmas Day no man fasts. "My lord," said the slave, "is not this the Friday whereon thou dost not fast? Give me then my liberty." And his lord, being a true man, bade him go free; and that the memory of these things should abide, caused the broken chain of the slave to be set up over the door of this palace, together with the words, *Alla Giornata*, meaning thereby the day whereon he freed his slave. The Lanfreducci, to turn from fiction to fact, were a good Pisan race who took a leading part in the government of the city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while the Uppezinghi were of very ancient origin. Descendants of the wealthy Cadolinghi of Calcinaia, they adopted the surname of Uppezinghi in memory of Oppezingha, daughter of the Emperor Otho I., who married

Obbizo Cadolinghi. Her descendants did good service to successive emperors, who in return bestowed on them much treasure and many castles and broad acres in the Pisan territory. They also served their country as priors, podestàs, and captains of the people. The house has only recently become extinct.

The *Palazzo Agostini* is just beyond the corner of Via S. Frediano. Its richly-moulded brick façade of the fifteenth century is covered all over, in almost oriental profusion, with a delicate terra-cotta ornamentation of Gothic foliage, figures, and conventional patterns. But although somewhat over-charged, the effect of the whole is graceful and attractive. There is an open loggia under the roof, and two tiers of beautiful windows with cuspidal Gothic arches, while the ground floor has four wide arched openings. Some of the details suggest an early-Renaissance restoration.

About the year 1360, a certain Astai, thus called because he dealt in *aste*, or planks, built two houses on the Lung' Arno. Being, also, the owner of a brick kiln he made the terra-cotta ornamentation for the two façades himself. The houses were side by side and very similar, save that in the upper floor one had triple, the other only double, windows. Not long afterwards the Astai sold the houses to the Agostini, who threw them into one, thus forming the palace that we see. The Agostini were held in great honour in the days of the Republic, and occupied important civic posts during the fifteenth century. When the Pisans, with the help of Charles VIII., rose against Florence, Mariano and Paolo Agostini were at the head of the Government and managed to retain their position when Pisa again fell under the Florentine yoke. A long series of their descendants has carried on the family tradition, and much wealth has come to them owing to the dying out of the Fantini, Della Seta, Grassi, and

Venerosi families. A few years back a thorough restoration of the old palace was undertaken by Count Alfredo Agostino Della Seta with the co-operation of the Government. Del Moro was the architect, under the direction of Professor Ignazio Supino, and on the whole the result is good. It should be noted that the painted shields are a modern addition. The whole façade leans considerably towards the river.

The *Palazzo Lanfranchi*, or *Toscanelli*, has one of the finest façades in Pisa. It is of the middle-Renaissance style, of fine proportion, and of a beautiful golden hue owing to the weathering of the Carrara marble of which it is built. "The Casa Lanfranchi," writes Leigh Hunt, "which had been the mansion of the great Pisan family whose ancestors figure in Dante,[1] is said to have been built by Michelangelo, and is worthy of him. It is in a bold and broad style throughout, with those harmonious graces of proportion which are sure to be found in an Italian mansion. The outside is of rough marble." The attribution of the palace to Michelangelo seems to be without a vestige of truth.

Of German origin, the Lanfranchi, who settled in Pisa about 980, under Otho II., became one of the most important families in the city. They took the part of the ghibellines, and were frequently banished from the city during the triumphs of the guelphs, only to return when their own party was in power. Tradition attributes to their family, chiefly on the evidence of the mention of a Lanfranchi in the "Inferno," a leading part in the death of Ugolino. Lord Byron inhabited their palace for nearly a year in 1821 and 1822, having been obliged to leave Ravenna owing to his active support of the Carbonari. Accompanied by seven servants, five carriages, nine horses, a bulldog, a

[1] *Inferno*, xxxiii. 32.

mastiff, two cats, and a quantity of poultry, he arrived in Pisa at the end of October, 1821. He is described as being rather stout, and habitually wearing a loose nankeen jacket, white trousers, an open shirt collar, his hair falling in thin ringlets around his neck. Sometimes he donned a loose mazarin-blue riding coat, and a velvet cap with a gold band and tassel; while a braided jacket of Gordon tartan was another favourite garment of his.

He says in a letter: "I am in a famous old feudal Palazzo on the Arno, large enough for a garrison, with dungeons below and cells in the walls and so full of ghosts that the learned Fletcher (my valet) has begged leave to change his room, and then refused to occupy his new room because there were more ghosts there than in the other."

Leigh Hunt, with his wife and seven children, occupied the ground floor of the palace for some months while Byron was its tenant. Although he came at the invitation of the poet to act as editor and collaborator to his projected newspaper, *The Liberal*, the poet soon tired of Hunt and his unfortunate family, whom he called "the cockneys." He could not bear to see them venture into his part of the palace, and instructed his great bulldog not to let the cockneys pass.

The police of Pisa were greatly agitated at the arrival of this mad milord, and watched his movements with eager interest. The secret archives of the *Buongoverno* contain a bulky correspondence relating to "the famous poet Lord Byron, who if he were not believed to be a madman ought to be watched by the police of the whole world. The said Lord has taken the Palazzo Lanfranchi . . . but many people say he has, as usual, changed his mind and will not come." So writes the superintendent. Count Gamba, with his

son and his daughter Countess Guiccioli, having arrived in Pisa, the secretary of police at Florence replies: "The government is well aware that Lord Byron goes to Pisa solely for the beautiful daughter of Count Gamba, so you may expect him."

He was obnoxious to the police, both as an ardent Carbonaro, whose house in Ravenna was packed with arms and ammunition, and as the author of "wild and seditious" poems like the "Prophesy of Dante," which appeared to them "designed to augment popular agitation." So writes the royal commissioner at Volterra to the *Buongoverno* at Florence, adding in a later letter, in which he assumes the part of a Mecænas, that "the style of nearly all living English poets is so turgid and extravagant as quite to spoil their ideas."

Many more particulars about the poet's residence in Pisa can be culled from a curious diary, entitled, *Arcana politicæ anticarbonarie*, kept by Cavaliere L. Torelli, who lived in Pisa from 1819 to 1822, acting as a kind of spy for the Austrian Emperor. He says that the governor of Pisa, the Marquis Niccolò Viviani, who had himself written a poem on Hero and Leander, "though curious to see the English Lord who had swum the Hellespont, was determined not to permit him to indulge in follies of any kind in Tuscany. So when Byron sent his butler to the Governor to ask whether he might practise pistol-shooting in the garden, the Marquis Viviani replied that it was against the law of the land, and he was sorry he could not permit it in order not to give a bad example to others. Milord leads a very quiet and retired life, the only persons he visits, besides the Gamba's and his English friends, are Madame Kunstein and her four daughters, and the Canon Danielle Girolami, priest of the church of San Pierino."

The English friends here alluded to include the

Shelleys, Trelawny, Medwin, the author of the "Conversations," an Irishman named Taafe, Shelley's friends Mr and Mrs Williams, and a certain Captain Hay. Pisa, in fact, was full of English visitors. It was in the heyday of its popularity as a winter resort, and the presence of the great poet-peer was an additional attraction. Lord Byron, with his menagerie of cats, dogs, peafowl, and monkeys, set the fashion of eccentricity. He mounted two small pieces of artillery at the door of his room, and kept a quantity of guns, pistols, and daggers on his table. When he was not riding wildly all over the country with various friends, he was practising pistol-shooting with them. Shelley walked through the streets of the city in a short jacket reading a quarto encyclopædia, with another volume under his arm. Walter Savage Landor refused to know any of his compatriots, while old Mr Dolby, attired in a tattered coat, went about singing at the top of his voice, his pockets bulging with books, a pair of spectacles hanging by a gold chain round his neck. If the leaders of the English colony behaved so oddly, we may be quite sure that the smaller fry would outdo them in unconventionality; and one cannot wonder that the quiet inhabitants of the old city, whose peaceful existence was upset by the antics of their visitors, should think that madman and Englishman were synonymous terms.

They had, however, the satisfaction of seeing Lord Byron in trouble with the authorities. "At length," says Torelli, "Lord Byron with his company of assassins gave us a taste of the temper he had shown in other places. The government expected he would, and he had been watched from the day he arrived in Pisa. On the 24th of March at 23 o'clock (an hour before sunset) a certain Masi, a Pisan, Sergeant-major of the mounted dragoons who were quartered

here had been dining in the country outside Porta alle Piagge and was returning to the town. Afraid of being late for the muster-roll he rode fast, and near the gate saw Lord Byron with several friends and servants on horseback who took up the whole road. He pushed through them in order to get on, when Taafe, a friend of Byron's, exclaimed against his insolence. Whereupon Byron or one of the servants hit his horse. The sergeant abused them, so they all surrounded him and tried to force him to go back. He answered that the road was free and wanted to go about his business, at the same time putting his hand on his sword to defend himself. Byron asked his name and threw him his visiting card, which was picked up by an artillery-man near. Masi reached the gate before the party, and ordered the two old soldiers who were on duty, not to let any of them pass till they had given their names. He put himself across the gate, sword in hand, and the whole company began to push through. In the confusion he sliced the nose of an Englishman, said to be a captain, who passes for a poet, and among other eccentricities, prides himself, as though it were an heroic action, on having had the epithet atheist added to his name in his passport. He and his family live in Pisa."[1]

The rest of the story was told by Shelley in the deposition taken by the police. "The dragoon," he said, "cried out to the soldiers to arrest us at the gate. Mylord with Signor Gamba passed through notwithstanding, whereupon Masi (the Dragoon) drew his sword, seeing we also were determined to pass, and assailed Mr Trelawny, who however got so close to him that he hindered him from striking. The two foot soldiers then drew their swords, and it appeared to me that one at least hit Mr Trelawny on the thigh.

[1] The Diarist confuses Captain Hay with Shelley.

I tried to interpose between him and his assailant, when the dragoon aimed a blow at me, which was partly intercepted by something—perhaps by Mr Hay's stick—which we afterwards saw cut in two pieces. However I received a blow on the head with the hilt of a sword, which knocked me off my horse. I remember looking into my holsters to see if there were pistols, but there were none. I remember I was able to enter the town, when I found Mr Trelawny, and asked after Captain Hay, whom I did not see. He answered that he knew nothing of him, and that we must look for him. The dragoon now passed us, using very bad language, and, I think, added 'Are you satisfied?' and rode on. We returned to the gate in search of Captain Hay, and found him wounded, bleeding from the face, and supported by some men. I got off my horse, and helped by Mr Trelawny assisted him to Palazzo Lanfranchi."

The brawl was not ended yet, for, according to Torelli, Byron, after galloping home, rode out again immediately to meet the sergeant and his party, who hurled insulting words at him from afar. When they met, everybody said heated things to everybody else, a glove was thrown at Masi, some said by Byron, and the sergeant-major accepted the challenge. By this time they had reached Byron's palace, and there a scuffle arose, the poet's doorkeeper attacking Masi with a three-cornered weapon and breaking one of his ribs. Another servant rushed towards him with a pitch-fork, and the sergeant fled, taking refuge first in one house and then in another, being finally carried to the hospital by the Misericordia in a very dilapidated condition.

Riding out next day, Byron met the trumpeter of the infuriated dragoons, who proudly said to him: "Thou art capable of giving treacherous stabs but

not of meeting a man face to face." "Afterwards when Lord Byron was out with his usual companions there were many people in the street. Several saluted him, raising their hats; he turned to the young Prince Scubalof and said, 'The Pisans have become more respectful since last night,' which speech was at once repeated to the police."

A curious commentary on this whole scene was written long after by Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, the well-known writer, who says: "I saw Masi, tottering in the saddle, ride as far as Don Beppe's Caffè, where being no longer able to sit his horse, his helmet fell off, his hair was standing on end, and his face was as white as a sheet, and he fell down exclaiming 'I am killed.' I heard him say this, and I shall never forget his terrible face, made yet more horrible by a mass of flaming red hair. I also remember—and a great impression it made on me—that all the English then living in Pisa, whether they knew Lord Byron or not, went armed to his palace to defend the great poet of their country. I thought had he been an Italian, his compatriots would have assembled to stone him, and I began to understand why the English are a great people, and the Italians a bundle of rags in the shop of a second-hand dealer—*at least till now.*"

Byron himself speaks of the incident in a letter to Sir Walter Scott, as "an awkward affair which gave me some anxiety." The police stepped in: "many witnesses were examined about this unfortunate business," says Torelli. "All those that Byron knew would be summoned before the court were either all called to him or visited by Taafe, and had money given them. It was said that this affair cost Byron three thousand scudi. Countess Guiccioli, and the other women in the carriage with her, were examined in their own houses, and so

was Byron, for it seems that Lords have this privilege." From the same diary we gather that the officer deputed to take Lord Byron's deposition did so with much trepidation, because he had been reading a French biography of Byron that described his murdering one of his mistresses, and having her skull mounted as a drinking cup, and stated that the noble lord had bought of the Sultan of Turkey an uninhabited rock on which he built a palace, where he lived with a few followers for about two years after the separation from his wife, in order to avoid any contact with mankind; and altogether gave a terrible picture of his character.

In a letter to Mr Dawkins, Byron gave a plain account of the occurrence, which robs it of much of the romance woven round it by the Pisans, saying: "It neither is nor has been my wish to prevent or evade the fullest investigation of the business. Had it been so it would have been easy to have either left the place myself or to have removed any suspected person from it, the police having taken no steps whatever until three days after the fact." Mr Dawkins put in a plea for Byron with the Cavaliere Fossombrone, Tuscan Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In spite of this, two of his servants were arrested and examined, together with seventy other witnesses. No two of these, however, agreeing, a decree was at length issued to the effect that there were no grounds of proceeding against the accused, and so ended this wonderful storm in a teacup.[1]

Trelawny describes Byron's habits at this time as "lazy and dawdling." He left his bed at noon, breakfasted on a cup of strong green tea, lunched on biscuits and soda water, played billiards, rode out to the farmhouse where the pistol club had its range, and practised

[1] See "Byron at Pisa," by Janet Ross, in the *Nineteenth Century* for Nov., 1892.

his favourite pastime. At seven he took his frugal dinner alone. At nine he visited the Gambas, came home and settled down to work at "Don Juan" till two or three in the morning.

Spending his time in this fashion, Byron lingered in Pisa, even after the tragic death of Shelley, with one short interval, until September, 1822, when he left for Genoa. Torelli is venomous to the last. He says: "Count Gamba has gone to the Baths of Lucca with his son, but as Madame Guiccioli remains in Pisa, Byron no longer talks of leaving." The last entry, however, concerning the poet is this: "Milord has at length decided on going to Genoa. Some say he is already tired of his favourite Guiccioli, others that he is bent on going to Athens and purchasing adoration from the Greeks."

Next door to the Lanfranchi is the *Palazzo Roncioni*, containing a fine private collection of manuscripts and documents relating to Pisan history, of woodcuts and engravings of all periods, while in the cortile is preserved a rare Roman inscription. Just beyond the Piazza Mazzini is the *Palazzo Vecchio*, also called *Palazzo de' Medici*. In its present form the red-brick palace is practically a modern reconstruction, and not very interesting. Its origin is ancient. Idelberto Albitone the Pious and his wife, having founded the great church and monastery of S. Matteo, determined, in 1027, to build themselves a house under the shadow of their sanctuary. Hence their choice of this spot. Marangone speaks of the towers of the Albitone in 1158, and they, no doubt, clustered round this ancient abode of the family. Their palace, itself probably no more than a tower at first, was gradually enlarged, and became known as Palazzo Pieracchi. Near the end of the fourteenth century the river front was added, and the large garden, extending northward to Via la Rosa,

was surrounded by a crenellated wall. This was probably built when the palace became the property of Jacopo d'Appiano, the tyrant of Pisa, who took up his abode there soon after he had stained his hands in the blood of Pietro Gambacorti. In the fifteenth century it was considered one of the finest palaces of the city, and as such was placed at the disposal of Charles VIII., when in 1494 he paused in Pisa on his way to Naples. With his coming the courage of the Pisans revived, and the same night a hurried meeting was convened to discuss the best means of moving him to restore the independence of the State. Simone Orlandi, who was a good French scholar, was unanimously chosen to express the desires of the people to the French King. He threw himself at Charles's feet, embracing his knees, and described in burning words the bleeding wounds of his country, once the proud mistress of the sea, now the slave of the alien. He declared the Florentine yoke to be intolerable, that the measure of the sufferings of Pisa was full to overflowing, and that the king alone could help them. Liberty was his cry—"Give us back our liberty!" So moving were his words that even the French courtiers were deeply stirred, and flinging themselves on their knees, joined their prayers to those of Orlandi. Thus assailed on every side, Charles's facile enthusiasm was kindled. He hotly declared that his sole wish was to see justice done, and that it would be a joy to him to grant the Pisans their independence. In an instant the news was spread from mouth to mouth, and from the whole city rose one unanimous cry of "Long live France, long live our liberty!" The people broke loose, drove out the Florentines, tore down the hated symbols of the foreign yoke and flung them into the river, while the Republic was proclaimed by a thousand voices. Charles was acclaimed again and again the Saviour of Pisa, and the walls of the old

palace must have trembled at the joyous shouts of the people. But shortlived was the happiness, and short the years of independence enjoyed for the last time by the Pisans. Then the yoke was once more fitted on, and so firmly that it never was cast off again; the palace soon afterwards changed hands and became the residence of Cosimo I. de' Medici. Disliking its antique fashion and narrow lancet windows he modernised it, and cut large square openings to let in the sunshine. If this record had been written but a few years ago, it would have ended with a thrilling tale of how Don Garzia slew his brother Don Giovanni while out shooting, and hid from his infuriated father; how, when dragged into that awful presence, it was to be slain by a blow from his father's dagger; and how the mother, broken in health by such repeated horrors, faded and died within a few days. Stained with the blood of his son, Cosimo could bear the palace no longer, and caused the Palazzo Granducale to be built in its stead. This would have been the dramatic end of the story. Now, alas, the cold light of history has chased away these dramatic shadows, and all that can be told is that Cosimo abandoned the palace, and that it passed into private hands. These have endeavoured to restore it to its pre-medicean appearance, but with doubtful success. The fourteenth-century wall still surrounds part of the garden, but its crenellations are filled up.

Crossing the Ponte della Fortezza we find ourselves immediately in front of the *Palazzo Scotto*, which stands on the site of the old Porta della Spina. It is a modern and uninteresting house, built, in 1805, by Domenico Scotto of Naples, who bought the site from Agostino Chiesa, to whose fathers it had been granted, in 1781, by Grand-Duke Pietro Leopoldo. Nevertheless, it has a claim on our interest because the palace and garden were planted in the ruins of the fortress of

1512, whose walls, bastions, and towers form its boundaries on the land side, while the city wall encloses it on the river side. Scotto built covered galleries all along the inner walls and bastions, from which a delicious medley of trees and flowers and old walls may be seen. At the further end of the enclosure, close to the Porta Fiorentina, one of Giuliano di San Gallo's strong and grim bastions still exists. Fitted into very irregular spaces, and encumbered with masses of masonry, the garden has no particular design, but it is cool and quiet, full of rich verdure and flowers. Inscriptions are to be found on every wall, recording the building and adorning of house and grounds by Domenico Scotto and his daughter and son-in-law, the present Prince and Princess Corsini, to whom the palace now belongs. Within its precincts, in Via della Fortezza, is the humble little house where Galileo was born on February 18, 1564, only to be distinguished from its fellows by an inscription recording the fact. One wonders whether that great heart drew some of the strength and endurance that enabled him to say, "E pur si muove," from the walls of the old fortress which was his birth place and cradle.

Turning westward along the Lung' Arno that is called by his name, the *Tre Palazzi* are reached in a few moments. One of these prim, square, white houses, built by the Chiesi, a Corsican family, on the ruins of the Fortezza, was Shelley's Pisan home. Italy claimed him for her own with the same mysterious sway that proved fatal to Keats, and indirectly to Byron. Leaving England in the spring of 1818, with Mary and their baby son William, Miss Clairmont and her child Allegra, he spent the greater part of that year in wandering.

Little William died in Rome, and in a vain attempt to flee from grief they went to Leghorn, and stayed

long enough for the "Cenci" to be begun and ended. Thence they moved on to Florence, which inspired

THE BIRTHPLACE OF GALILEO

the last act of "Prometheus Unbound" and the "Ode to the West Wind."

January, 1820, found them at Pisa, which Shelley

loved. "Our roots," he says, "never struck so deeply as at Pisa." In Rome and Naples he had lived like a solitary, abstracted into the airy region of his dream-world. Here the more human side of him asserted itself and found comfort in companionship. Chief among his friends were Mr and Mrs Edward Elleker Williams. His affection for Mrs Williams was deep, and some of his lyrics of that year are addressed to her. "I like Jane more and more, and find Williams the most amiable of companions," he writes. His cousin, Captain Medwin, joined the party later, and Captain Trelawny, and to them we owe most of our knowledge of this period of the poet's life. Last, but not least, was Byron, one of whose chief motives in coming to Pisa was to be near Shelley. Medwin and Trelawny have both left on record their impressions of Shelley's appearance and personality at that moment. "His figure," says the former, "was emaciated and somewhat bent, owing to near sightedness and his being forced to lean over his books, with his eyes almost touching them; his hair, still profuse and curling naturally, was partially interspersed with grey; but his appearance was youthful. There was also a freshness and purity in his complexion that he never lost."

Trelawny, who had never seen him before, was once sitting with Mrs Williams. "We had a great deal to communicate to each other, and were in loud and animated conversation when I was rather put out by observing in the passage near the open door opposite to where I sat, a pair of glittering eyes steadily fixed on mine; it was too dark to make out whom they belonged to. Mrs Williams laughingly said: 'Come in, Shelley, it's only our friend Tre. just arrived.' Swiftly gliding in, blushing like a girl, a tall thin stripling held out both his hands, and although I could

hardly believe, as I looked out at his flushed, feminine, and artless face, that it could be the poet, I returned his warm pressure."

Though never more oppressed by melancholy, Shelley produced some of his most brilliant work in 1820. The "Letter to Maria Gisborne," the "Ode to a Skylark," the "Witch of Atlas," the "Ode to Naples," the "Ode to Liberty," and the "Sensitive Plant" followed hard upon one another.

In spite of Shelley's warm admiration for his genius, when Byron appeared, his presence proved a check on this productive mood. "I do not write," he explains; "I have lived too long near Lord Byron, and the sun has extinguished the glow-worm. I despair of rivalling Lord Byron, as well I may, and there is no other with whom it is worth contending." And yet at the same time a conviction of his own greatness was present even then in his mind. He said one day to Medwin: "This I know, that there is something in my writings that shall live for ever." To a certain extent he recovered from this sense of oppression, and the next year was a stimulating one for him in various ways. "Hellas" was the outcome of the enthusiastic sympathy with the Greek cause, roused by the visit of Prince Mavrocordato to Pisa. The passionate but ideal feelings roused in him by the unfortunate young Contessina Emilia Viviani gave birth to "Epipsychidion," an exposition in fair words of his doctrine of love. The death of Keats, too, hastened, as he believed, by the review in the *Quarterly*, opened the flood-gates of song from which flowed "Adonais," loveliest of elegies, worthy to stand by the side of "Lycidas" itself. The poet's daily life was simple. Trelawny tells us that "he was up at six or seven reading Plato, Sophocles or Spinoza, with the accompaniment of a hunch of dry bread;

then he joined Williams in a sail on the Arno, in a flat-bottomed skiff, book in hand, and from thence he went to the pine-forest or some out-of-the-way place. When the birds went to roost he returned home, and talked and read until midnight." Byron and he, separated only by the river, met daily. Besides admiring him as a poet, Shelley liked his companionship as a man, but hated his love of gossip, and buried himself in thought or left the room when Byron's conventional acquaintances called it forth. They rode out together, and practised pistol shooting, as we have seen, with the members of the club, talking the while an affectionate sort of jargon, a kind of bastard Italian which called shooting, *tiring*; hitting, *colping*; and missing, *mancating*, and the like. Trelawny's arrival turned the thoughts of the two poets to the sea. Byron had a decked schooner built, the *Bolivar*, and Shelley an open boat, the *Don Juan*, or *Ariel*. The *Bolivar* bore Byron away to Greece and death, but not until the *Ariel* had led Shelley by a swifter path to his watery doom.

In reading the wonderful last lines of "Adonais," it appears almost as though Shelley had had some premonition of his fate:

"The breath whose night I have invoked in song
Descends upon me; my spirit's bark is driven
Far from the shore, far from the trembling throng
Whose sails were never to the tempests given.
The massy earth and spherèd skies are riven!
I am borne darkly, fearfully afar;
While burning through the inmost veil of Heaven
The Soul of Adonais like a star
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are."

Further along the Lung' Arno is the *Palazzo Ciampolini*, or *Francetto*, a yellow palace standing back in a garden, the home of the office of the *Fiumi e Fossi*. The marshy land between Pisa and the sea

was ever the fruitful breeder of disease. Montaigne, writing in 1580, says: "Only a short time ago this city bore an evil name for its unhealthy air, but this is vastly improved since Duke Cosimo has drained the marshes by which it is surrounded. Formerly the place was so unhealthy that when the government wanted to banish anyone, and at the same time get rid of him, they always banished him to Pisa, where in a few months the deed was done." The evil was so great that it could not be cured immediately. Even in the middle of the seventeenth century John Evelyn, in crossing the domain of S. Rossore, says: "Much of this park, as well as a great part of the country round it, is very fenny, and the air very bad." A few years later Lassels writes that the city "stands in no very good ayre, and therefore hath been vexed with divers plagues." Gradually, however, Cosimo's drainage, and the subsequent care exercised by the office he instituted for the maintenance and supervision of the canals and water-ways, the *Uffizio dei Fossi*, have dried and sweetened the Pisan air. Reconstructed under the name of the *Uffizio dei Fiumi e Fossi* in 1808, the department still exists and flourishes here. Its sway extends over all waterways, including the Arno and the Serchio.

The last building before the Ponte di Mezzo is the *Prefettura*, formerly called the *Palazzo Pretorio*, whose white façade, built about one hundred years ago in the pseudo-Gothic manner, gives no hint of its real antiquity. It is a vast structure, and occupies all the space between the river and Via S. Martino. Built originally as the Palace of Justice, or Tribunal, it seems to have been adopted towards the end of the fourteenth century as the residence of the Podestà. The façade in Via S. Martino and the interior cortile have not been modernised, and give a good idea of the original

appearance or what must have been a stately palace. It is flanked by a clock-tower built in 1785 by the architect Sanminiatelli on the ancient solid base of the *Torre della Giustizia*, its splendid predecessor. The courtyard is hung with the carved *stemme*, or coats of arms, of the Podestàs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Close at hand is the *Loggie di Banchi*, which stands in the little piazza at the end of the bridge, a palace, built in 1605 by Bontalenti over an open hall, or loggia, and originally intended as a money exchange. The loggie are now used as a corn exchange, and the upper rooms were the original home of the *Uffizio dei Fossi*, since when they have served various purposes. The municipal band plays under the arches of the loggie, which fact and its central position serve to keep the little piazza perpetually crowded and bustling.

Just beyond the Loggie di Banchi, and connected with it by a bridge over the street, is the *Palazzo Gambacorti*, now the *Palazzo del Commune*, the last survivor of the many fine Gothic palaces of the days of the Commune. In spite of the loss of its embattled upper storey, the façade is still beautiful with its double pointed windows surmounted by round arches. Florentine influence is evident both in design and detail.

Built in the first half of the fourteenth century, it replaced an earlier palace belonging to the Gambacorti, which appears to have stood not far from the convent of S. Domenico. Great preparations were made in the new palace for the reception of the Emperor Charles IV., when he visited Pisa in 1355, on his way to be crowned in Rome. "On January 18," writes a chronicler, "the Emperor entered Pisa by the Porta al Leone, where he was met by Giovanni Scherlatti, a Pisan, and by the Archbishop with

all the clergy. He presented to Charles the Cross (bestowed on the Pisans for their great courage), wherein is enclosed in strips of most finely chiselled silver a large piece of the Cross whereon the Saviour was crucified. The Emperor dismounted and kissed it with great devotion, and then under the golden canopy he passed by S. Giovanni into the Duomo, and, kneeling, made long prayers to God. On leaving the cathedral he mounted his horse and rode to the noble houses of the Gambacorti, where was the famous garden. A magnificent feast was prepared that evening, with a profusion of wax torches and candles, and many wines, sweetmeats and chickens and other things in great abundance; then he and his people retired to rest. It was the talk of Pisa that out of devotion and humility the Emperor did not sleep in the bed prepared for him, it being too splendid. And on the Monday morning the Emperor wishing to live according to his usual custom, one hundred and fifty waggons laden with flour, corn, barley, spelt, wood, hay and straw, casks full of various wines such as Vernaccia, Corsican and Greek, many calves and wethers, much wax, torches and candles, sweetmeats of divers sorts, cloths and embroidered tablecloths, and other household goods of various kinds in abundance. The list would be a long one, and all was at the expense of the Commune of Pisa." Another writer attributes the emperor's reluctance to occupy the magnificent bed, which cost no less than twelve hundred florins, to another reason. "Knowing the avarice of the Emperor," he writes, "the Pisans ironically said that he would not be able to sleep in such fine sheets." The palace next emerges into the light of history in 1392, when Piero Gambacorti, then an old man, one of the greatest captains and statesmen Pisa ever had, was murdered on the doorstep by his secretary, Jacopo

d'Appiano. Of the archives contained in the upper chambers of the palace we have already spoken. Further along is the noteworthy *Palazzo del Veglio*, now used as the post office.

Crossing the Ponte Solferino and turning up Via S. Maria, a fine palace on the left, where the road bends a little, should be noticed, with a bust of Ferdinando I. over the door. Higher up on the right, an inscription on No. 26 marks the palace where Alfieri stayed. He was in Pisa from November, 1784, to September, 1785, during which time he wrote the whole of *Il Panegirico di Plinio a Trajano*, the first book of *Il Principe*, and began other works. At the same time he managed to amuse himself very well with his horses, fourteen thoroughbreds, displaying to the admiring eyes of the Pisans wonderful feats of driving. He witnessed the Giuoco del Ponte of 1785, which inspired a sonnet. So did, unfortunately, the soft Pisan climate. The rain fell perpetually during his stay, and he gave expression to his annoyance in verse:

> "Mezzo dormendo ancor domando: Piove?
> Tutta la notte egli è piovuto.
> Sia maladetta Pisa. Ognor ripiove
> Anzi, a dir meglio, e' non è mai spiovuto."
>
> —*Sonnet*, CXXXIV.

On the same side is the *Pia Casa dei Trovatelli*, or foundling-hospital, with a plain but good façade, some nice fifteenth-century windows and a charming doorway surmounted by a pretty relief of a little swaddled infant. Beneath a grated window on the ground floor the wheel can still be seen in which infants were placed to be received into the hospital, where no questions were asked. Additions were made to the building about the end of the eighteenth century, which by no means increased its beauty.

Two hospitals for foundlings were founded in the

thirteenth century, the Pia Casa dei Trovatelli, by the blessed Domenico Vernagalli, in the monastery of S. Michele in Borgo, and the hospice of S. Spirito in Chinsica. The blessed Domenico was a Camaldolesian monk, who thought more of going out into the world to help the weak little ones than of praying for his own soul in a cloistered cell. The sight of all the helpless and nameless infants whom he saw on every side so pained his tender soul that he laboured till he raised funds enough to endow an institution where they could be cared for. The two institutions were united in 1421, and transferred to a new building in Via S. Maria, built for them on the site of the Spedale della Stella and the oratory of S. Giorgio dei Tedeschi. Until 1567, the hospital was governed by the Commune, at one time being administered by blessed Chiara Gambacorti, but in that year Cosimo I. committed the error of placing it under the jurisdiction of the hospital of the Innocenti in Florence. The unpopular arrangement only lasted a few years, and the Trovatelli has been independent ever since.

Next door to it is the *Collegio Ferdinando*, one of the offshoots of the university that are due to the munificence of the grand-dukes. Housed in a palace designed, not unsuccessfully, by Vasari, it has a particularly fine entrance surmounted by a bust of Grand-Duke Ferdinando I., who founded it in 1595 as a hostel for forty students of philosophy and jurisprudence.

The Hospital of S. Chiara occupies the greater part of the south side of the Piazza del Duomo. It was founded in 1257 or 1258 by the citizens of Pisa in expiation of the sins which had placed them under a sixteen years' interdict. The Pope encouraged the project by permitting the hospitallers to cut wood in the pontifical domains in the Garfagnana, and by

allowing the hospital brothers to receive sums up to a thousand marks from penitents who wished to restore their thefts and had been unable to trace their victims. Penitents of this kind do not appear to have been numerous, as the hospital took eighty years to build. Originally called the Spedale Nuovo di Papa Alessandro, then the Misericordia di S. Spirito, it was finally dedicated to S. Chiara, who cures fevers and watches over the welfare of washerwomen.

It received large donations from successive rulers, and has now many forms of activity. The medical school of the university is here, clinical lectures are held on medicine and surgery, and there is also a pathological museum and an anatomical theatre. The church belonging to it contains an ancient *Madonna with four Saints*, which has often been attributed to Taddeo di Bartolo, but is more probably by Giovanni da Napoli and Martino Bolgarino of Siena.

The entrance in Via Solferino, which gives on to a large cloister with an upper ambulatory like that of La Sapienza, is always thronged in the morning with picturesque out-patients from neighbouring villages. Their gay clothes, and the crowd of street vendors who cluster round to supply them with simple dainties, give the scene a suggestion of a daily fair.

Not far off, in Via del Arcivescovado, is the *Palazzo Arcivescovile*, or archbishop's palace. Behind the modern façade is a spacious courtyard of the end of the fifteenth century, with a cloistered walk all round, based, obviously, on the monastic type of cloister. In the middle is a florid rococo statue of Moses. Opposite to the palace, at the corner of Via Faggiuoli, is its garden, a very good specimen of the smaller Italian pleasance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, laid out symmetrically in square formal beds and intersecting walks, with a fountain

in the centre. Rocaille grottoes with statues, rows of orange and lemon trees in the graceful terra-cotta vases of the period, and some clipped yew trees form, together with many flowers, a delightful retreat.

The palace is very old. According to a document in the archiepiscopal archives, which has already been described, it was founded in 1116, soon after the See was raised to an archbishopric, and some of the spoils of Palermo were devoted to the building. Rebuilt by the active and benevolent Archbishop del Pozzo in the sixteenth century, it was enlarged and decorated by Archbishop Angiolo Franceschi in the eighteenth. Passing from here to the Piazza de' Cavalieri, we find ourselves surrounded by palaces.

The *Palazzo Conventuale* of the Order of S. Stefano, familiarly known as the *Carovana*, is a building with a beautiful curve in its lines, a seemly façade dotted with Grand-Ducal busts, in whose centre are the Grand-Ducal arms combined with the red cross of the Order upheld by Justice and Religion. The whole surface is covered with *graffiti* or patterns scratched in a layer of white plaster placed over black plaster. Originally by the hand of the indefatigable Giorgio Vasari, they have lately been entirely renewed. Vasari made the whole palace out of the famous old Palazzo degl' Anziani, certainly using its outer walls, and probably the double outside staircase that led up to the *ringhiera*, or platform. It was used as a training-school for aspirants to the knightship of S. Stefano, who spent four years there at the expense of the Order, and besides horsemanship and all knightly exercises, were specially instructed in the manœuvring of galleys and the seacraft necessary in an Order instituted to carry on naval warfare with the Turk. The expeditions undertaken against the infidel came to be called *carovane*, a name which became associated with

the building. The pleasant effect of the existing building is completed by the fanciful fountain supported by sea-monsters, and the heroic statue of Cosimo I., one of Francavilla's best works, which stands before it.

The Palazzo degl' Anziani was old enough at the end of the thirteenth century to need rebuilding. It seems at that time to have consisted of two buildings, the Palace of the People and the house of a certain Oddone della Pace, where the Elders lodged, probably because there was not room in the Palace of the People. Besides uniting these two with a fine façade large additions were made, though not, of course, as Vasari says, by Niccolò Pisano, who died some years before the work was begun. This reconstruction was considered to be one of the most beautiful palaces in Tuscany, and the Pisans mentioned it in the same breath as the Duomo and the Leaning Tower. It had a great open loggia, a *ringhiera* with a double outside staircase, and a lofty tower with the arms of the Commune, in which was hung a great bell. On festive days the palace was decked with banners, silk brocades fell from the windows, and the ground in front of it was strewn with gold dust. It was just as splendid inside. The wide cloistered court, with a well in the middle, was kept scrupulously clean. There were lodgings for the twelve Elders, who were re-elected every two months, and who not only were obliged to live but to take their meals in the palace, according to a command of the Doge, dated 1367. The four senators, the captains of the train-bands, the Consuls of the Sea, the Consuls of the Merchants, the Consuls of the Guilds, with nine notaries and numbers of subordinate officers, were all housed under its ample roof. But its chief glory was the vast hall of the people, which ran from end to end of the building.

Here the Great and the Lesser Councils met together, and there was a rostrum for speakers from which the victories of the Commune were proclaimed. The banners of the four quarters of the city hung from the lofty ceiling: red for del Ponte, red and yellow striped on a red field for del Mezzo, red with a white gate for Forisportae, and red with a white cross for Chinsica. Great stores of helmets, cuirasses, tents, arrows, and what not lined the walls, for the hall served as a civic armoury. All these splendours perished by fire in 1356, and the Pisans particularly regretted certain engines of war that were worth one hundred florins apiece, and an arbalist that discharged three arrows at a time, which hung there as trophies of the battle of Montecatini.

Tumults frequently raged round the palace, the piazza being invariably the scene of political strife. Many rude encounters took place under its very walls, one of the most terrible of which was that provoked by Ugolino in 1288. The towers and houses all round were strongly fortified. Showers of missiles darkened the air, and red blood flowed like water that day. The struggle concentrated itself between two towers, the doomed Ugolino defending himself fiercely; forced to give back, but disputing every inch of ground. He was taken at last in the Palazzo Pretorio close by, to which he had retreated. Often, too, the tolling of the great bell, with slow, heavy strokes, called the people together to witness the executions that were so frequent in the middle ages. Perhaps the most sinister of all these episodes was in 1355, when five of the Gambacorti were beheaded together, and their headless trunks left lying like carrion in the piazza.

To the right of the Carovana is the *Torre del Orologio*, which has been already described. Near to

it, on the left, is the *Collegio Puteano*, another of the foundations of good Archbishop del Pozzo.

Of modest size, its frescoed front shows traces of good design and workmanship, but is in such a ruined state that little remains beyond an agreeable jumble of colour, architecture, wreaths, and winged boys. The archbishop being a Piedmontese, was solicitous that his countrymen studying in the university should be kept from want. Eight of them are maintained here for the five years of their university course.

At the corner of Via S. Frediano is the *Palazzo del Consiglio dell' Ordine*, a massive Renaissance palace with a garden, built for the Council of the Order of S. Stefano in 1603, by Francavilla, on the remains of the *Palazzo Vecchio* of the Elders, its great hall frescoed by the brothers Melani and by Ventura Salimbeni. The Palazzo Vecchio was the oldest of all the mediæval buildings in the piazza. It was rebuilt in 1369, and offered by the Elders to Charles IV. after the fire in the Palazzo degl' Anziani, caused by the carelessness of his own servants. Finally, however, they inhabited it themselves, leaving the other to the emperor after its restoration, as being more worthy of a sovereign. Later, the Palazzo Vecchio was occupied by the magistrature, and then by the priors, who had their seat there until 1689.

A house in Via Faggiuola, which turns out of the Piazza de' Cavalieri, bears a tablet recording the visit to Pisa in the winter of 1827 of Giacomo Leopardi, yet another poet who felt the soothing influence of her noble history and soft air. He was delighted with the aspect of the city, which pleased him far more than that of Florence, and he thought the Lung' Arno "so spacious, so magnificent and so smiling, that one cannot help loving it." In all Europe he found no such view. The winter air seemed to him like

that of spring elsewhere, his health benefited by it, and the mild and genial physical influences around him caused him to burst forth into song in the spring of the year with the other singing birds. "Thus," he says, "in April, after an interval of two years, I made verses again, real verses, as in the old days and with the heart of long ago."

From the Piazza de' Cavalieri, Via del Monte leads down into the Borgo Largo. Standing on a little island to the right is a picturesque mediæval house which is now the *Cassa di Risparmio*, or savings bank. Originally a temple, it has been successively the church of S. Felice and the Opera del Duomo. Two columns with composite capitals that are built into it, no doubt formed part of the atrium of the original temple. The capitals have figures springing out of acanthus leaves, Harpocrates between two Victories, and Jove holding a sceptre, with another Victory. The shafts of the columns are so deeply embedded as only to leave about four feet above ground, another proof of the change in the level of the city since Roman days.

Turning to the left when we enter the Borgo Largo, *Palazzo Scorzi* will quickly be reached. It is a pointed Gothic palace with a strikingly Venetian-looking portico. Every other house in the Borgo Largo has lost this distinctive feature, with a view no doubt of admitting more light and air to the houses, so that this one has a double value. The French ambassador of Louis XIV. resided here.

The *Palazzo Rosselmini*, on the other side of the river, is in the heart of the Chinsica quarter, and has an unusually large and well-wooded garden for a city. The dense foliage quite shuts out the world and produces a curiously rural effect. It was laid out by the Pesciolini family, which once owned the palace.

S. PIERO A GRADO

CHAPTER XII

The Surroundings of Pisa

"Gia si sentivan su per gli arboscelli
Li rosignol cantar intorno intorno
Con dolce versi di piu altri uccelli;
E l'Oriente lucea tutto adorno
De' raggi bei dell' amorosa stella
Ch' annunzia in primavera sempre il giorno."
—*Dittamondo*, Fazio degli Uberti, lib. II., cap. xxxi. p. 194 (*circa* 1360).

S. Piero a Grado, S. Rossore, Il Gombo, Bocca d' Arno and Barbaricina on the west. Bagni di S. Giuliano and Ripafratta on the north. S. Michele degli Scalzi, S. Jacopo in Orticaia, the Passegiata Nuova, the Certosa di Calci, La Verruca, the Castle of Caprona, Cascina, S. Casciano, Uliveto and Vico-Pisano on the east.

WITH the first hot day of spring the stoney glare of the city becomes intolerable. The singing bird's note in a distant tree-top, the flaunting tulips and anemones in the flower-girl's basket, and the smell of fertility in the warm moist air, all rouse a longing

that can only be stilled by the green fields. The routine of sight-seeing in the city can then be pleasantly varied by visiting some of its beautiful and interesting surroundings. On the west the level sea-board, with its long lines of dark odorous pine woods and fresh living air, is covered by the royal domains of S. Rossore and Il Gombo. The important ancient basilica of S. Piero a Grado is in that direction also, at a spot which is now two miles inland but once was at the edge of the sea; and the fashionable little watering-place, Bocca d'Arno, or Marina di Pisa, lies at the mouth of the Arno. All these are easy of access. Viareggio, on the north, and Leghorn, to the south, are also reached directly by train. The pine forests of the former are famous, and the latter should be visited, if only to identify that solitary tower which is the last remaining fragment of the great port of Pisa. To the north are the baths of S. Giuliano and the great frontier fortress of Ripafratta, both on the road to Lucca. From thence pilgrimages may be made to the last of the hermitages that once lay so thick upon the hill-sides, and mountain expeditions to Monte Pruno (2850 ft.) and Monte Serra (3010 ft.). From the latter, which is the highest summit of the Pisan mountains, Lucca is easily reached by the Colle di Compito.

Close to the city, on the east, the fine church of S. Michele degli Scalzi stands in the midst of green avenues in the Passegiata Nuova. More to the east rises Monte Verruca, with the ruins of an ancient stronghold on its summit; the castle of Caprona, where Dante fought; and the great Cistercian monastery of Calci. Still further eastward lie Vico-Pisano and Cascina, on either side of the Arno. Near these two subject cities of the Republic is the little watering-place Uliveto, and the old basilica of S. Casciano with

the rude carvings of Biduino, a twelfth-century artist who groped feebly towards the light that was afterwards shed so brilliantly on sculpture by Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano. Pontedera, with its fine church, is further away, but once, also, belonged to the Pisan State.

S. Piero a Grado, or *ad Gradus*, is a vast basilica that rises majestically from the level plain some three miles seaward of Pisa. Its lofty campanile dominates the scene; farm buildings, haystacks and trees, cluster round it, forming a group suggestive to the English eye of a Norfolk or Suffolk village. The sea is entirely hidden by the noble pine woods that fringe the horizon on three sides, while the fourth is closed in by a blue line of hills. This quiet spot can be reached in twenty minutes by a steam tram that starts near the railway station. The stopping place, S. Piero a Grado, is within a few minutes of the church. Those who prefer to walk from Pisa will find the road an easy and a pleasant one, and not difficult to find. Leaving the city by the Porta a Mare the first turning to the left leads in a short time to the banks of the river, by whose side the shady path runs for the rest of the way.

The first Christian church in Pisa was raised, says the legend, by S. Peter himself, close to the ancient Port of Pisa, which in his day had not yet been silted up by the ever-encroaching sands. As late as 416, when Rutilius wrote his curious description, it was still one of the chief harbours of Italy, with the great Villa Triturrita jutting out into it.

"With wondering eyes I viewed
The neighbouring harbour, which its fame has made
Place of resort, as being Pisa's port,
And owing to the riches of the sea.
Wondrous the aspect of the place. The shores

> By the open sea are lashed, and naked lie
> To all the winds. No inner harbour there
> Fenced by protecting piers that might repel
> The threats of Æolus; but seaweed tall
> Fringes the sea that it has made its own,
> Sure to prove harmless to the boat it strikes
> Gently, and yet, while yielding, tangles in
> The raging surf, and suffers no huge waves
> To roll in from the deep."[1]

But it is evident that the harbour was still navigable, though, perhaps, those dense banks of seaweed helped in time to choke up its mouth. The great apostle having left Judea in company with S. Mark the Evangelist, Dionysius the Areopagite, Martial and Appollinaris his disciples, was driven ashore by contrary winds to this very spot by the mouth of the Arno. Landing at the steps, he found a great concourse of people, and began to preach and to baptise, and built a rude altar at which he said mass. Having made many converts he commanded them to erect a church over the altar, and because it was near the landing steps, they were to call it *ad Gradus Arnensis*. Some versions of the story add, that before continuing his journey to Rome S. Peter consecrated as first bishop of Pisa either S. Torpè or S. Pierino Ajutamicristo, and that under the care of the new prelate the church arose. Strange as was its origin its consecration was yet stranger. Clement I., the third successor of S. Peter, was one day saying mass in Rome with his accustomed devotion, when suddenly, to the horror of the congregation, he appeared to fall asleep. After three hours he awoke, and excused himself by saying that in the interval he had been commanded to consecrate the church of S. Piero, near Pisa, and that an angel had taken his place at the altar in

[1] *De Reditu Suo*, Book I., 530-540. *Rutilii Claudii Namatiani*. Edited by Charles Haines Keene, M.A., and translated by George F. Savage Armstrong, M.A., D.Lit., 1907.

Rome. During the ceremony at S. Piero, as S. Clement was anointing the altar with the holy chrism, three drops of blood fell from his nostrils upon it and remained there ever after as a proof of his bodily presence. They were clear and bright, and absolutely indelible, and became the object of the greatest veneration, drawing pilgrims from many distant cities. Archbishop Federigo Visconti, in the thirteenth century, expressed the firmest faith in the above story, which was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Innocent VI., given in Avignon in 1354, and accepted without question in the middle ages. Indeed, the devotion to the treasured drops of blood was so great that the Genoese resolved to steal them to enrich one of their own churches. They fitted out a fleet of five galleys, and sailing to the mouth of the Arno attacked the church. Being unable to remove the whole altar, they broke off a corner on which was one of the drops and hurried away with it. But a great storm arose, the galleys were sunk, and every man on board perished. Alarmed at the dangers to which the remaining drops were exposed, the Pisans removed them for safety to the Duomo. Every year, on the vigils of the Ascension and of St Peter, they were carried back in solemn procession, when a great concourse of people came down the Arno in boats to S. Piero. Up to near the end of the sixteenth century, as Montaigne tells us, the custom survived, but a century later it had nearly died out. The chaplains of the Duomo, indeed, still carried forth the relics in procession, but only as far as the city gates, and the popnlar interest in it seems entirely to have vanished.

Whatever its origin, there can be no doubt that a church stood here from very early times. Besides the universal belief in it, we have evidence of its existence in the numerous fragments both of Roman and early-

Romanesque sculpture incorporated into the walls of the present church. The first document relating to it is a deed of gift made by Archbishop Villani to the monastery of S. Michele in 1148, in which occurs the expression, "near the Church of S. Piero a Grado."[1] It was small, says the legend, and surrounded by the twenty-four columns that now divide the nave and aisles. We may, therefore, infer that it became inadequate in size when the cult of S. Peter received a new impulse in the twelfth century, and was replaced by the great basilica we see. All things considered, it is in a very good state of preservation, apart from the fact that the whole of the exterior was ruthlessly stuccoed over in 1790. The east end has three apses, the central one larger than the others; and the west, oddly enough, has a fourth instead of a façade. This seems to indicate that at some unknown period the church was reversed, probably to secure correct orientation. A plain corbel-table from which flat pilasters descend at intervals is the only ornament of the nave and aisles. On the north side it is more ornate, with numerous majolica plates inserted between and below its arches. This form of decoration was common in the middle ages, but these plates are of unusual beauty, with Moorish-looking designs of flowers and ships. The windows are small lancets, those in the apses being widely splayed. Fortunately, the damp sea-air of the plain has flaked off most of the eighteenth-century stucco from the lower part of the walls, revealing a curious medley of building materials. Fragments of Roman sculpture and inscriptions, part of a Roman milestone of the fourth mile from Pisa, blocks of pink marble; all are jumbled together with Verruca stone, black marble, and pieces of Romanesque sculpture

[1] Prope ecclesiam S. Petri in grado que est juris Archiepiscopatus Sancte Marie.

with plaited patterns. A door on the north leads into the spacious and impressive interior, with a perfect basilica form and open timber roof. The position of the twelve columns and the square pier which support the round arches seems to indicate the division between choir and nave in the days when, as we suspect, the altar was at the west end. Most of the beautiful antique columns of Greek marble or Oriental granite are split with age, and are held together by iron bands. One of them is fluted, and another, being too short, is propped up by an inverted capital. Nearly all the capitals are antique, and of every style—Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite,—and often do not fit the pillars on which hazard has placed them. Tradition brings both columns and capitals from a temple of Ceres in the city ; but they are of such diverse form and age, that it is more likely they were brought at different times from conquered cities in the Pisan galleys. The only discordant note in the harmonious picture is the eighteenth-century stucco work and the grisailles on the great choir arch. From arch to roof the walls of the nave are covered with three rows of fourteenth-century frescoes, attributed to Giunta Pisano or to one of his followers. An immensely long series of popes in precisely similar attitudes, ending with John XIV., who assumed the tiara in 983, forms the lowest row, while the central and most important one gives the story of SS. Peter and Paul. On the right side is the life of S. Peter, ending with his martyrdom and that of S. Paul. The left side has the continuation of the story, the Funeral and translation of the two apostles. Further on are the Conversion of Constantine, S. Silvestro showing him the portraits of Peter and Paul, and the Consecration of the Lateran by S. Silvestro in the presence of Constantine. In the upper row, under a painted cornice,

is a series of angels appearing at half-open or open windows. Wherever accessible the frescoes have been sadly daubed over, and the higher ones have suffered so much from sunshine and damp as in places to be quite destroyed. Athough the method is rude and decadent and the frescoes, as a whole, mark the low level of Pisan painting at that period, there is a certain amount of characterisation and languid action in the figures. All the contours are outlined in red, and the lights on the flesh are put on over a coating of green.

THE PINE WOODS OF S. ROSSORE

Those who return by road can extend the expedition pleasantly by crossing the river near the tramway station and driving through the royal domain of S. Rossore. A lovely view of Pisa, with the Baptistery and Leaning Tower between the river and the mountains, is to be seen from the bridge. Unusually picturesque woods surround the royal hunting-lodge and its farm-buildings. From here the road passes through a noble avenue of time-worn pines, distorted by the sea-winds into most weird shapes. Herds of camels in the meadows on either side give an unfamiliar touch to the scene. The origin of the domain is very ancient. In 1088 a little church, dedicated to S. Torpè, stood in the midst of it, which the Countess Matilda, heroine of a hundred tales, bestowed with the surrounding

lands on the canons of the Pisan Duomo. They brought hither the relics of S. Lussorio, a Christian soldier who perished under Diocletian and to whom they rededicated the church. The name Lussorio in the course of time was corrupted into Rossore, and the Grand Dukes of Tuscany rented the land from the canons.

The first camels were brought into Tuscany by the Grand Duke Ferdinando II., and others were sent home in 1663 by General Arighetti, who took them from the Turks in battle near Vienna. Others appeared in 1700, and more thirty-eight years later, but no systematic attempt was made to breed them until the days of Francesco II. of Tuscany. He established the existing animals at S. Rossore, imported twenty more, and began breeding. So completely did he succeed, that by 1785 there were one hundred and thirty-four, and four years later they had increased to one hundred and ninety-six. Since then the herds have prospered, but all attempts to introduce camels into other parts of Italy, or even of Tuscany, have failed. Even at S. Rossore, with its mild and equable temperature, a rather colder winter works havoc among the delicate animals. They are not wholly useless, as they are used for transporting the pine-cones and the faggots cut in the domain, and add greatly to the picturesqueness of the scene as they pace solemnly along with their great loads.[1] In John Evelyn's time there were buffaloes also. He says: "We took coach to Livorno through the Great Duke's new park full of cork trees, the underwood all myrtles, among which were many buffaloes feeding, a kind of wild ox, short nose with horns reversed; those who work with them

[1] These particulars are taken from the interesting pages on the subject in *In Tuscany*, by Montgomery Carmichael. London, 1901.

command them as our bear wards do the bears, with a ring through the nose and a cord."

In 1769 the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo I. bought the whole estate from the Church, and in the second half of the nineteenth century it became the possession of the kings of United Italy. The vast pine forests, that extend as far as the sea, with spaces of meadow land interspersed, are odorous and still with a silence hardly broken by the occasional passage of a roebuck or a wild boar, or the trill from the throat of a blackbird. Part of the forest is called the Wild Wood, an intricate and almost impassable maze. A long straight road leads from the left of the avenue to Il Gombo, the bathing place of the royal family.

The woods we traverse and the sandy shore, were the favourite retreats of Shelley. Here he spent long peaceful days fleeing, to quote his own words,

> "Away, away, from men and towns
> To the wild wood and the downs."

And here he would lie dreaming hour after hour until the rhythmical beating of the waves against the shore formed itself into verse. Jane was often in his mind just then, and in "The Invitation" he bids her come away to:

> "Where the lawns and pastures be,
> And the sandhills of the sea."

And perhaps she came, because afterwards, in "The Recollection," he says:

> "We wandered to the pine forest
> That skirts the ocean's foam
> . . . . .
> We paused amid the pines that stood
> The giants of the waste,
> Tortured by storms to shapes as rude
> As serpents interlaced."

The silence and peace of the spot enchanted him; again and again he speaks of the calm and of the "inviolable quietness" that he found there. It is often stated that this, Shelley's well-loved shore, was the spot where his body was cast ashore after it had suffered its sea change. But it has recently been proved beyond the possibility of doubt that the actual place was just beyond the northern end of Viareggio, some seven or eight miles away from Il Gombo. [1]

Returning through the pleasant lanes on the right of the avenue to the city, it may chance that long strings of race horses will be seen ridden by English-looking lads. A détour to the right into the little village of Barbaricina will explain this phenomenon. It is the home of the king's stud, and the exercising ground is in S. Rossore. Stables are seen on every side, and neat little villas with trim gardens. The whole village was built by an Englishman, Thomas Rook, who was for many years trainer and stud-groom to Victor Emanuel II. It is still inhabited by English jockeys as well as trainers from every part of Europe and America, and the English stamp imposed on the village by Papa Rook, as he was called, has not left it. Returning to the main road we enter the city by the Porta Nuova after about a mile's drive.[2]

Another excursion can be made by taking the same tram the whole way to Bocca d'Arno, or Marina di Pisa, the quaint little watering-place at the mouth of the Arno. It is about six and a quarter miles away, and the road is shady and agreeable, with the Arno rushing alongside between its lush banks, dotted here and there with gaily-painted fishermen's huts. The air

[1] See *Gli Ultimi Giorni di P. B. Shelley*, by Guido Biagi. Florence, 1892.

[2] Permits to visit San Rossore and Il Gombo should be obtained from the Royal Palace, Lung' Arno Regio.

blows salt and fresh by the flat sandy shore, with its wide stretches of meadow-land and the solemn gloom of the forests that extend along the coast for miles. Costa, the landscape painter, found Bocca d'Arno a congenial painting ground, and spent many of his working years there.

The Bagni di S. Giuliano.—The road to Lucca runs north-east of Pisa, leaving the city by the Porta Lucchese. About five miles out, at the foot of Monte S. Giuliano—"that hill whose intervening brow screens Lucca from the Pisans' envious eye,"—lies the little village of Bagni di S. Giuliano, which, like the hill that shelters it, bears the name of an ancient church dedicated to that saint. It has been identified with the *Aquæ Calidæ Pisanorum*, spoken of by the elder Pliny, and much frequented by the Romans. A fragment of an inscription to the memory of Erote, aquarius and custodian of the waters, who dedicated a little temple, perhaps to the nymph of the healing springs, has been found near by, while numerous other Roman remains bear witness to the presence of that bath-loving race.

After falling into decay in the centuries of barbarism that followed the fall of the Roman Empire, the baths were restored, about 1113; by Countess Matilda says the legend, but more probably by the Pisan Commune. We know, at anyrate, that only a few years later it passed a series of regulations for the maintenance of cleanliness and order at the baths during the season. It is certain that the Commune rebuilt them in the fourteenth century, after their destruction in the thirteenth, and, to prevent further incursions, enclosed them in a strong wall with forked battlements. Various inscriptions testify to these measures, which took place under the Podestà, Federigho di Montefeltro. But notwithstanding this warlike exterior, there is plenty of

evidence that within the walls the Bagni di S. Giuliano presented, even in the middle ages, the appearance of a pleasure resort where the gay world led a facile and joyous life. Piero Gambacorti and Jacopo d'Appiano were constant patrons, both of them patients of Ugolino, a celebrated physician and author of a book on the baths of Italy, who died in 1392. The former built a beautiful palace, and embellished the baths in various ways. Until 1405 their prosperity continued, when the Florentines, under Bertoldo Orsini, Count of Soano, attacked the Bagni di S. Giuliano. He levelled the wall, and practically reduced the whole place to a heap of ruins; a piece of barbarism that was disapproved of even by his own countrymen, who showed their displeasure by restoring it carefully in 1461. But all is fair in war, and during the last struggle of the Pisans for their independence the Florentine soldiery once more ravaged the unfortunate village. Lasting peace came, however, with the Grand Dukes. Ferdinando I. repaired the ravages of war, and Francesco II. rebuilt the establishment on a larger scale than before. Bagni di S. Giuliano is prettily situated, and has wide views on the one side over the plain, and on the other on to the Pisan mountains. The healing waters flow out of the limestone rock into the two bathing establishments in the piazza, and into the fine fountains which adorn it. Among the numerous baths of different temperatures and constituents is the *Bagno della Regina*, so-called, it is said, in memory of a visit of the captive queen of the Balearic Islands.

Montaigne tested the waters in the course of that pilgrimage of his in search of health. In his day a statue of the Virgin stood over the great bath, and written beneath it was the Latin prayer: "May he, oh holy Virgin, who goes down into this bath under Thine

auspices leave it healed and virtuous." A later visitor was Dr Johnson's friend, Madame Piozzi, who had a house there towards the end of the eighteenth century, but was driven away by the mosquitoes. Shelley spent the spring of 1820 in the little village. In the intervals of bathing he passed his time in boating on the canal that connects the Serchio and the Arno. Lulled by the quiet influences of the scene he wrote the "Boat on the Serchio." "The Skylark," "Prometheus Bound," and the "Witch of Atlas" were also inspired by the lovely landscape of this district.

Ripafratta.—About five miles further on is *Ripafratta*, or Librafatta, as it was formerly called, a most felicitously placed village with an ancient gateway and walls, and a fine mediæval castle crowning the precipitous rock on which it stands. It lies on the lower slopes of Monte Maggiore, in the narrow valley of the Serchio, closely hemmed in by hills. An ancient watch-tower on either side, together with the stronghold in the village, bear witness to the importance of the spot.

Important indeed it was, as the frontier town between Lucca and Pisa. Of the five hundred and fifty-four castles over which Pisa ruled in her days of greatness, none was more vitally necessary than this one, guardian of the valley that gave access to her territory. Its history was very troubled. No one knows when it was built, but it seems from the first to have been a feudal possession of the Roncioni, Lords of Ripafratta. Tossed to and fro by the fortunes of war between Pisa and Lucca—whenever one took it the other snatched it away—it finally, like all the other Pisan possessions, fell under the dominion of Florence. It was soon afterwards strengthened and restored by Antonio di San Gallo, and time, rather than deliberate purpose, has reduced it to the condition of a picturesque ruin.

Ripafratta is in the centre of the Land of Hermit Saints. A walk of about an hour up the rocky hill brings one to the Rupe Cavo, or rock cave, that venerable sanctuary where generations of holy men have lived the solitary life, and perhaps the only remaining hermitage of the Pisan mountains, which at one time were a very Thebaid. Here S. Augustine, says the story, landing at Ostia on his way from Africa, retired for meditation after the death of his mother, Monica. Returning to Ripafratta, and setting our faces to the north, we find ourselves looking into the territory of Lucca. In the far distance the tall tower of Nozzano cleaves the air, a castle built to guard the confines of the State of Lucca from Pisan incursions.

S. Michele degli Scalzi, or *in Orticaia*, is one of the most interesting Pisan churches. It lies about a quarter of a mile outside the Porta alle Piagge, in the Viale Umberto Primo, or Passeggiata Nuova, a delightful shady walk by the riverside, with views across to the old fortress and the picturesque outskirts of the city. Orticaia is the name of this whole district, the eastern suburb of Pisa. On the right is the river, and on the left the mountains rising behind a fruitful plain. S. Michele is close to the road, and considerably below its level; the massive campanile leans towards the river almost as much as the titular Leaning-Tower, forming, together with the church and former monastery, an architectural group that contrasts finely with the leafy surroundings. The greater part of the church dates from the twelfth century, including the lower storey of the façade with its five arches and three doors. Cut in relief on the cornice of the central one are nine angels, figures of the twelfth century. An inscription below them, *Ordo Angelorum*, *Ordo Potestatum*, *Ordo Dominationum*, *Ordo Cherubin*

(*orum*), *Ordo Seraphin* (*orum*), *Ordo Thronorum*, *Ordo Principatum*, *Ordo Virtutum*, *Ordo Archangelorum*, seems to show that the figures were intended to represent the nine grades in the celestial hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite,[1] which differed from the more orthodox Gregorian order. Dante, who followed the Areopagite's order, alludes to the controversy in the Paradiso when he says:

> "... dominations first; next them
> Virtues: and powers the third; the next to whom
> Are princedoms and archangels, ...
> ... Desire
> In Dionysius, so intensely wrought,
> That he, as I have done, ranged them; and named
> Their orders, marshalled in his thought. From him
> Dissentient, one refused his sacred read.
> But soon as in this heaven his doubting eyes
> Were open'd, Gregory at his error smiled."[2]

The tympanum of the arch is filled by a half-length figure of the Redeemer in the act of benediction, with an inscription recording that it was the gift, in 1204, of one Montaninus Cechia and his wife. The upper part of the façade, the roof and some other portions belong to the fatal restoration of 1600, which did so much to ruin the church. The round apse is a good specimen of its kind, and is enriched with green majolica plates. Within, the basilica form is perfectly adhered to, with four arches on either side supported by six granite columns and two stone piers. In the sacristy are some fragments of Byzantine painting.

The massive campanile is an unusually fine specimen of its kind, and having been declared a national monument is fortunately safe from danger of

[1] De divinis nominibus, De Celesti Hierachia.
[2] Canto xxviii. 130-9 (Cary's translation)

destruction. The lower part, built of Verruca stone, dates from the twelfth century, while the rest is red brick, and belongs to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Here, again, majolica plates are very happily introduced, while traces of thirteenth-century paintings are to be found in the lower story.

The monastery was already flourishing in the middle of the eleventh century. An existing document of December 26, 1048, tells us that the barefoot monks of S. Michele (called degli Scalzi on that account) were to receive into their house a certain Guido, son of the late Andrea d'Agnano, together with a donation of his possessions. The monks were of the Order of Pulsano, and were said to have come from Pulsano in Apulia, a long way to travel in those days. They were never a very large community, and have long been extinct. Other deeds of 1137 and 1139 speak of the monastery, but the church is first mentioned in 1151. *Domini et Sancti Michaelis Orticarie* it is called, and Martino, *presbiter*, is spoken of as its rector. After this we often hear of it. In 1187 Pope Clement III., being in Pisa, issued a bull by which he took the monks under his immediate protection and gave them various privileges, including the right of burial in the church. Soon afterwards, further privileges were heaped on them by a bull of Celestin III., and all were confirmed by Innocent III. in 1202, and Gregory X. in 1273. Besides being the recipients of so much papal favour, the monks were greatly venerated in the neighbourhood. Archbishop Federigo Visconti, preaching some time between 1254 and 1278, after recalling the example of the Pisans in the past, exhorted the people to visit the church of S. Michele in Orticaia on account of the many holy men then living in the monastery.

The Pulsanese monks were superseded at S. Michele by Canons Regular of the Order of S. Salvadore of the Lateran, on whom Pius II. conferred the monastery in 1463. They were one of the numerous and wealthy communities of lay clergy living together more or less under the control of a bishop, and leading a semi-monastic life under the Augustinian rule, though without taking any vows. They remained at S. Michele until 1773, instituting among other things the observance of the feast of S. Ubaldo, a festival still very dear to the people. Their successors of the Olivetan Order had but a short tenure, for the monastery was suppressed ten years later. The church is now parochial, and was restored in 1902 to something of its original aspect.

Fine avenues shade the Passeggiata Nuova for a mile or more beyond S. Michele, ending near the little rural village of Cisanello. The reaches of the river, with green and shady banks, are more suggestive at this point of the Thames than of an Italian stream.

In the same district is the church of *S. Jacopo in Orticaia*, which retains an ancient appearance outside, but within is a horrible mass of rococo ornamentation. The present structure dates from the twelfth century, but there are traces of a still earlier one in the *narthex*, which still exists.

The *Certosa di Calci* is a fine Cistercian monastery of ancient origin, but for the most part rebuilt towards the end of the eighteenth century, whose white buildings standing out conspicuously from the green hillside form a landmark for many miles round. The Certosa, or Charterhouse, lies in the Valle di Calci, about seven miles east of Pisa, from whence it is easily reached by steam tram, changing at Navacchio. The village of Calci is prettily situated at the foot of

the hills, and has an unusually fine Pieve,[1] with an extremely elaborate Pisan-Romanesque façade and a dignified campanile, built of black and white marble and stone. In the interior is a quaint twelfth-century font for immersion, surrounded by figures in niches with wild beasts beneath their feet, and angels in the spandrils of the arches. Rude and decadent in method, the influence of late-Roman sculpture is evident in the figures.

The Charterhouse is not far off with its gorgeous buildings, the church conspicuous among them in the long massive line of the façade. An over-ornate group of sculpture crowns the pediment, and the door is approached by a fine double staircase. The chief beauty of the whole is the great cloister, with its round arches upheld by graceful pillars and a huge eighteenth-century fountain in the centre of its peaceful garden. From here there is a more than usually beautiful view of the surrounding amphitheatre of hills.

The monastery, founded in 1367 with money bequeathed by an Armenian merchant settled in Pisa, was purposely placed near the church in the Valle di Calci, which for some time served for the devotions of the monks. S. Catherine of Siena proved herself a staunch friend of these Carthusians of Calci, whose prior, the blessed Giovanni Uppezinghi, was one of her devoted followers. Not only did she visit Calci more than once during her stay in Pisa in 1375, but obtained one thousand golden florins from Gregory XI. towards the completion of the monastery. Nor did she stop here. At the earnest prayer of the prior of S. Gorgonia, she even visited the island of Gorgona,

[1] A Pieve is a church in which baptism may be administered, a privilege not enjoyed by all churches in Italy.

embarking on the sea, which she then saw for the first time. Fra Raimondo, her confessor, thus describes the episode: "The evening of our arrival the prior lodged S. Catherine and her companions about a mile from the monastery, and the next morning brought his monks to Catherine, and asked her to grant them some words of grace. Yielding reluctantly to his prayer she spoke to the monks in such a wondrous fashion that every heart was touched, and the prior exclaimed that if she had been their confessor she could not have known each man's sins and temptations better: 'Dear brother Raimondo,' he said, 'surely she possesses the gift of prophecy and speaks by the Holy Ghost.'" At parting there was a pretty scene. All the monks came down to the shore and took a tender leave of her, some of them accompanying her to the mainland. The prior begging for a remembrance, she left her mantle with him, and returned to Pisa full of the wonders of the deep. Ever after she used the ocean as an image in her prayers, comparing her Lord to a tranquil sea. "*O mare piacevole! O mare pacifico!*" she would ejaculate.

About the end of the fourteenth century monks from the monastery of S. Gorgonia, in the island of Gorgona, fled to the Certosa of Calci for refuge from the aggressions of the Saracen corsairs; and a few years later the houses were united, owing, it is said, to the intercession of S. Catherine. The Carthusians thus became owners of the whole island of Gorgona and a wealthy body, although, because of the depredations of the Saracens, they never succeeded in re-establishing their monastery on the island.

La Verruca.—The ruins of the strong fortress La Verruca, guardian of the mountain passes in the days of Pisan independence, still crown the lofty peak of

the Monte Verruca. They are visible from Pisa, a perpetual reminder of her ancient lordship and power. But they are worthy of a closer examination. A steep and rugged path leads up to them in two and a half hours from Calci, a convenient point of departure. Once the summit is reached, at the height of 1765 feet, fatigue is forgotten. The air is fresh, and half the fair land of Tuscany lies spread out at the foot of the mountains. Towards the west the blue expanse of Mediterranean waters is broken by the little isles of Gorgona and Capraia. The winding Arno unrolls itself like a silver ribbon from the mountains to the sea, the walls of Pisa crowning it midway. Leghorn, her trade rival and supplanter, rises on the distant shore. To the east lie the fertile plains that border the river, dotted with numberless white castles and villas. Further away are the swamps of Bientina and Fucecchio, appearing from behind the Corbaje hills, and at the end of a long vista the shining domes and towers of Florence close in the scene.

The ruins are somewhat difficult of interpretation. That a castle stood here as early as 996 is known. The Emperor Otho conferred it in that year on the Abate Majone for the abbey of Sesto: *Roccam etiam de Verruca*, runs the deed, "also the castle of Verruca." In 1020 Henry I. confirmed the gift, with even greater precision. But that early structure must have fallen into decay, or proved inadequate to defend the borders of the Pisan territory, as it was rebuilt in the thirteenth century. In this new form it held out many times against the Lucchesi and the Florentines, but only by perpetually reinforcing its fortifications. At last the Florentines proved too strong for its defenders in 1431, and La Verruca fell

before them, and was destroyed. About the time of her final subjugation of Pisa, Florence realised the strategic importance of the site, and in 1506 sent her architect to Giuliano Lapi, commissioner of the Florentine Republic at Vico-Pisano, with instructions to "finish and perfect" the works at La Verruca; and the castle walls soon rose anew. How much of the old building he incorporated, it is impossible to say. Doubtless something, probably the foundations. If that is so, the existing remains, which hardly rise above the lowest storey, belong to the castle of the thirteenth century, and not to that of 1503. In any case, they are interesting historically rather than architecturally, and call up memories of hard fighting, of cunning attacks and stubborn defences.

Caprona.—One more pilgrimage should be made from Calci, to the ruins of another great castle that played some part in Pisan history. Caprona lies on the lower slopes of Monte Verruca, near the little village of the same name. It was hotly beseiged in the course of the campaign that followed the battle of Campaldino, where the Florentines crushed the Tuscan ghibellines, including of course the Pisans, in 1289. Dante had taken part in the battle, fighting valiantly in the front rank; and his footsteps can, perhaps, be traced in the subsequent fighting, certainly in the brief, furious siege of the Castle of Caprona, where the beaten Pisans had taken refuge. It surrendered. Great crowds of the common people assembled to see the garrison march out, and terrified the starving, weary men by shouting out: "*Apicca, Apicca!*" (Hang them, hang them!) as the poor creatures went by. Dante's description of this scene proves him an eye-witness. "Thus once," he says, "I saw the foot men, who marched out under

treaty from Caprona, fear at seeing themselves among so many enemies." [1]

The castle of Caprona perished, like so many others in the contado of Pisa at the hands of the Florentines, in the year 1453. Not so completely, however, but that enough remains to remind us of this interesting moment in its history.

Cascina is a tiny *terra murata*, or walled township, some eight miles to the east of Pisa, and once subject to the Republic. It can be reached by train in a few minutes, and the station is so close to the town that the walk is hardly long enough to take in the general effect of picturesque decay. The mellow walls with their ragged battlements, and the great dismantled tower, are very good to look at. Entering at the Pisan gate, a perfectly straight road with arcaded houses leads to the Florentine gate. On a holiday it is thronged. Bands of maidens in bright kerchiefs and aprons, linked together six or seven in a row, pass slowly up and down, sending bright provocative glances towards similar bands of youths in wonderful ties, but never apparently speaking to them. The elders sit outside the cafés absorbed in business talk, with tumblers of red wine before them, and long Tuscan cigars in their mouths. The appearance of a stranger excites the populace greatly, for this little town is seldom visited. Our first visit was much disturbed by the thrilling interest with which we were followed. An attempt to photograph the *Pieve* resulted in a spirited group of some two or three hundred eager, smiling faces. Crowds burst after us into the church, and interrupted the catechism that was in progress by swarming over the benches in our wake, whispering, talking, and laughing. "*Bigotti!* (bigots), they are *Bigotti*," said our old

[1] *Inferno*, xxi. 94-96 (Carlyle's translation).

cabman, unable to account otherwise for their odd conduct.

A street to the left leads in about a minute to the piazza. Here stands the Pieve with its ancient campanile, once a tower of defence. There was a church here, it seems, as early as 750, and it became a Pieve in 801, but that early structure has disappeared, and the church we see has all the characteristics of the twelfth or the thirteenth century. The façade, though plainer, is very like those of S. Frediano and S. Pierino in Pisa. On the south, which has a good corbel table, there is a deeply-cut mediæval inscription, about three feet from the ground: "Frederic II., Rex Sicilie,—71." In the sacristy is an interesting and rare Romanesque *lavabo*, no doubt coeval with the church, on which the rude figure of a horse is carved. A desecrated chapel of S. Giovanni Battista, near the station, now a wine store, is covered with badly-injured frescoes by Martino da Siena (1386).

So tiny is Cascina that a walk round its walls can easily be accomplished in ten minutes, but it has all the appurtenances of a real city in the way of walls, towers, gates, and a citadel. The moat is filled up, the walls are rent and patched, and restored much in the same way as those of Pisa, with red brick. Several watch-towers have survived, but little more than the shaft of the citadel tower, whose machicolations have almost vanished.

Cascina first appears in the pages of history in the middle of the eighth century, when it seems that the bishop of Pisa owned a village there with a *Cassina*, or *Casalino*, a little house. In later years this small township was a perpetual bone of contention between the Lucchesi and the Pisans, or the Florentines and the Pisans, and it is hard to understand how any inhabitants

could survive in a place that was so often besieged and sacked. In 1295, for instance, it was taken by the Lucchesi, who razed the campanile to the ground. Again, the soldiers of the guelphic league took and sacked it in 1328, with who knows what nameless deeds of horror. In 1341, and again in 1362, it was besieged and taken by the Florentines. They used it as their base for the great attack they made on Pisa two years later, on S. Vittorio's day, 1364. Then at last Cascina, with undaunted spirit, resolved to improve her defences, and built a stout wall with strong towers and a citadel. But even that was in vain. No wall could keep out the Florentines. They took and subdued the gallant little town in 1499, and it was never able to break away from their yoke again.

Whatever the sympathies of the inhabitants, they must at least have acknowledged the beneficence of the Medicean rule, that gave them so complete a system of waterways and sluices. These drained the surrounding marshes, and deposited the fat mud of the Arno on the land, thus giving them fertile fields to till. Cosimo I. began the work, as is recorded on the sluice gate at Riglione, midway between Cascina and Pisa.

The arms of the city, a casket inscribed with the word *Fides*, are explained by Morrona to mean that the Pisan Republic kept its treasure there because it had such an implicit reliance in the good faith of the inhabitants.

The *Pieve of S. Casciano* should be visited from here.[1] A walk or drive of three miles brings one to the pleasant shady village where is this ancient church, one of the most important of the early Pisan-Romanesque type. The path lies under the hills,

[1] Carriages of a simple kind will be found at Cascina station.

among quiet country lanes and villages. On the right flows the Arno, separating the road from the mountains. Beyond is *Uliveto*, a little watering-place in a cleft of the rock formed by an old quarry. It is much frequented locally, and has hot medicinal springs, said to be efficacious for rheumatism and kindred ills. The impulse of the traveller is to alight and explore the primitive village, but he finds himself cut off from it by the width of the river.

The Pieve of S. Casciano is approached by an avenue of lime trees, and stands on a spacious green, opposite to a scattered village. It is a pure twelfth century basilica, with a modern campanile in the style of that period. The façade is extremely simple, save for the architraves of the three doors, which were sculptured in 1180 by Biduino, fore-runner of Niccolò Pisano. That on the left has reliefs of strange animals; the central one, the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem, somewhat in the style of the reliefs on the architrave of the east door of the Baptistery; and the one to the right, griffins and other beasts.[1]

It is a pity that these interesting reliefs are suffered to be the home of wild bees, who have deposited their honeycomb in all the crevices, so that it is almost impossible to see them.

An ox and a lion sustain the stilted arch of the main door, and there is a sculptured head in the centre of the tympanum. Unusual interest attaches to the exterior, which is absolutely authentic, having entirely escaped restoration, although it may be questioned whether the upper storey was not left unfinished by

[1] The architrave on the left is inscribed:—Hoc Opus Quod Cernis Biduinus Docte Peregit Undecies Centum et Octoginta post Anni Tempore Quo Deus Est Fluxerant de Virgine Natus.

the original builders. It is low and plain, with a single window, and seems disproportionate to the lower storey. S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno is recalled by the fine panelling that runs round the church, while the interior has all the simplicity and dignity of an untouched basilica. Traces of a still older structure are said to be discernable to expert eyes.

Vico-Pisano is one of the most picturesque and unspoilt little hill-towns in Tuscany, and almost entirely unknown. It lies about ten miles to the east of the city, on a southern spur of the hills. Though only about half that distance from Cascina, the drive from Pisa is too pretty to miss. On the outward journey the highroad running south of the river should be followed, passing the old fortified abbey of S. Savino, and on the return the winding lanes at the foot of the hills.

The first glimpse of the little hill-fastness, crowned with its strong castle and with trees clustering about its base, is a delight. It has lost its walls, but not a few mediæval towers peer over the house-tops and proclaim it a fighting city. Towers, roofs, and trees climb up the hill together, and with them the traveller, who must mount a steep winding path on foot, carriages being perforce left below. First two towers are passed, then another, then yet another. The higher we climb between the old crumbling walls, with their luxuriant growth of red valerian, the more enchanting the view becomes. Roofs, towers, and campaniles slope away on the right, and beyond them is the wide sunny plain. The little river Seressa meanders round the town, washing the feet of its houses. At length we reach a small grassy terrace called the Prato, which seems to be the end of the world, with a sheer drop into space before it. After resting there to enjoy the view, the

Pretura, a quaint rugged building on the left, demands attention. The rough masonry of its front is half-covered with the decorative *stemme*, or coats-of-arms, of the *Vicari* of the town, some of them as old as the fifteenth century. On entering the little courtyard, the series is found to be continued. Indeed, the further wall is almost hidden by picturesque heraldic emblems, carved in stone or marble, or made of shiny della Robbia ware, blue, green, and yellow. This pretty custom of commemorating the successive officials of a city is nowhere more prettily carried out than here, where some of the *stemme* are real works of art. Just beyond the Pretura, a door in the rocky wall gives access to the castle. A dark tunnel and steep flight of steps lead into the flowery garden, with a most unexpectedly modern villa in the midst of it, where once a monastery stood. The castle is perched on the highest point, richly-wooded slopes falling from it abruptly on every side. In one corner of the big square keep is the tower. Strong and tall, the great shaft seems to shoot up in the air, its machicolated and crenellated summit burgeoning out like a flower. Upon one side the shield of Florence is carved side by side with the eagle and cross of Pisa. The walls of the keep are so high and strong that short of modern artillery there seems no force in the world capable of destroying them. A machicolated wall runs straight from the castle down into the plain, where a tower waits to defend it at the base. The combination of romantic architecture, shady trees, and exquisite views make this a spot difficult to leave.

Another winding pathway of surpassing beauty takes us quickly down the hill again, to a spot a little in advance of that where the carriage was left. Here the ancient Pieve is found, with a good twelfth-century

Pisan façade, and the three doors and flat pilasters that have been seen so often. There is a corbel-table, ornamented like that at Cascina with animals' heads. The interior has ancient columns and capitals.

Another old church of this period, S. Jacopo, about a quarter of a mile away, is worth seeing.

Vico-Pisano was originally known as Vico-Auserissola, and belonged to the patrimony of the marquesses of Tuscany. Vico in old Italian means a village or burgh, and Auserissola probably comes from the little river Seressa. It is often mentioned in Pisan archives, the first time being in a deed of March 4, 934, by which Zanobi, bishop of Pisa, confers the office of prior of the Pieve of SS. Maria and Giovanni, *sita loco et finibus Vicho*, on a certain priest named Giovanni. We know of no important event in its history before it was ceded in 1601 by the Marquess Alberto, together with Cisano and other gifts, to the monastery of Marturi, near Poggibonsi, whose abbot, perhaps perforce, gave it up to Archbishop Ruggeri of Pisa in 1129. Anxious for a secure tenure of his temporal as well as of his spiritual rights, Ruggieri obtained a confirmation of them from the Emperor Conrad II. Frederick I. ratified the deed in 1178, the Elders of Pisa undertaking to defend the Archbishop's temporal possessions. Unfortunately his brother-bishop of Lucca, was also lord of broad lands in Vico-Pisano, conferred on his bishopric by the Countess Beatrice in 1068, and he likewise wished to make good his title. Vico-Pisano stood between the two churchmen, but always sided with the Archbishop of Pisa, and defended her walls stoutly against the soldiers of Lucca, who constantly tried to seize her for their bishop. The first siege was in 1289, not many years after Vico had been ravaged by the troops of the

guelphic league under the unfortunate Ugolino della Gherardesca, then an exiled wanderer. But the courage and patriotism of the inhabitants supported them under both these attacks, as it did when the Lucchesi, in 1323, made another desperate attempt to take the castle. By the help of a Pisan traitor they were admitted one night into the town, and next morning were found taking their ease as though in their own homes. The enraged inhabitants, however, made so furious an onslaught upon them that not even the presence of Castruccio Castracane, who led them in person, could save them from an ignominious flight. It rankled in Castruccio's proud mind that he had been forced to flee, and four years later he again besieged the town, though with no better result. So ingrained was the hatred between Vico-Pisano and Lucca that even the death of Castruccio did not terminate the war, and fighting went on year after year.

The geographical position of Vico-Pisano was a very strong one. The town stood on a steep hill, guarded on the east by the Seressa, and on the west by the Arno, which then flowed through the plain hard by. On the summit of the hill the Elders of Pisa decreed, in 1330, that a strong castle should be built to complete the defences of Vico. Never did she need strength more, for a more powerful enemy than she had yet contended with stood before her gates. In 1405 Maso degl' Albizzi, with a numerous Florentine force, laid siege to the little hill-fastness, drawing his lines so closely round the walls that no help from the outside could reach the defenders. They did not lose heart, however, but repelled the constant attacks of the enemy, both by land and by water—for the Florentines had brought a galley down the Arno—until hunger forced them to capitulate on July 16, 1406, after

eight months of heroic endurance. This proved the death-blow not only to their own independence, but to that of Pisa. Vico-Pisano having fallen, she no longer impeded the progress of the armies of Florence; on the contrary, she served as a convenient base for their attacks on the mother city. To increase her utility, the fortifications were greatly augmented and strengthened by Filippo Brunelleschi, who also added the fine tower to the castle. For nearly a century Florence held the town in an iron grip, but no walls, no garrison, were strong enough to repress the pent-up hatred of the inhabitants. Here, as in Pisa, rebellion broke out in 1494; the Florentines were expelled, and Pisan troops marched in. But before the exultant little town had time to enjoy her triumph she was again besieged by a new enemy, Guidobaldo della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and was able to endure a long siege with such gallantry that the besiegers were forced to slink ignominiously away. Soon afterwards, the Emperor Maximilian I. honoured Vico-Pisano by staying there, arriving on the very day that he had withdrawn his baffled Pisans and Venetians from the siege of Leghorn. That was the last joyful event that befel Vico-Pisano, whose hard-won independence was not destined to last. Two years later Paulo Vitelli, at the head of the troops of Florence, once more marched upon her, and this time she fell easily before him. Much blood was shed, and the whole of the Val di Calci was subdued. Two strong forts were erected by the victorious general to secure his conquests, one of them on the hills commanding Vico-Pisano, in a place called the Dolorous Rock.

Once again the brave people of Vico rose and ejected their conquerors, and the Florentines stood without its gates for a whole year, unable to enter.

At last the city was betrayed by the Swiss guards that Pisa had sent to reinforce it. Heavily bribed by the Florentines, they opened the gates to them on June 14, 1503. This was the end. Crushed by repeated misfortunes, Vico remained under the dominion of Florence until it became a part of United Italy. Among its famous citizens were Michele, father of Pietro Lanti, ancestor of the Dukes of Lanti of Rome; and Ermengarda Buzzacherini, mother of S. Ranieri of Pisa.

ARMS OF VICO-PISANO

LIST OF HOTELS

On the Lung' Arno Regio :

Hotel Victoria, excellent, but expensive.

Grand Hotel, expensive, good.

Hotel Nettuno, comfortable, Italian, with good restaurant.

Pensione Internazionale, unpretentious and comfortable, with tea-room.

Near the Station :

Hotel Minerva, good, convenient for the hurried traveller.

Café Ciardelli, Lung' Arno Regio, with excellent cakes and good tea.

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